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WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XIV

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association
of the Pacific States

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Editorial

THE HUMANITIES IN WAR TIME AND AFTER

The spirit of sacrifice in order that the great world-war may be pushed through to absolute victory for allied democracy is widespread in our land. We give up our ordinary comforts, our money, our time, our accustomed ways of living, all that we have, even our nearest and dearest possessions, if the exigencies of the war demand it. And we do it gladly, knowing that if the war were lost there would be nothing left that would have value in our eyes.

Among these sacrifices which many of us have freely consented to for the war's sake and with the understanding that it is for the term of the war only, are our educational ideals. The immediate war needs call for certain practical and technical knowledge on the part of all officers, for the training of whom the country has very properly turned to its colleges. This means that, so far as the education of college men is concerned, all studies except "war-essential studies" must give way. They have given way; and in four hundred of our colleges the men of the humanistic departments have cheerfully seen their favorite studies set aside and have girded themselves to help in the nation's great task; they have offered themselves for service in the "essential departments," turning to long unaccustomed tasks with no thought but to serve.

Oblitus que mei

Insolita cepi temporis arma manu.

So, life has been reduced to the basis of the practical, the material, because the successful waging of the war demands it. Let it be so. *But when the war is over* and we have settled down once more to the works of peace, what then? It is true there will still remain the great task of material reconstruction and industrial reorganization both in this country and abroad. But if after the war we are to remain on the material level of the war's necessity, if we are to continue to breathe only the atmosphere of industrialism and vocationalism, then indeed will the war have done us damage irreparable. Ruined land must indeed be reclaimed, ruined buildings reconstructed, ruined industries built up again, broken bodies mended and taught to function once more in human service. But what of mental, aesthetic, spiritual reconstruction? How shall we repair the waste to mental faculties and perceptions which four long years of concentration on material tasks have wrought? the waste to aesthetic sensibilities which the constant knowledge and even sight of the hitherto unimaginable horrors of this war have caused? the spiritual damage which this carnage of blood and struggle and unspeakable suffering has done? Can these most grievous damages be repaired by material means? Shall we regain our high mental attitudes, our spiritual grasp, our philosophic calm, through the sole agency of the vocational and the practical?

In such a time as this it surely is only a little man with his eyes upon the ground who can say of the present situation in our colleges: "Moreover, if the war does not last the students will not have lost anything except a little Latin and Greek. It is quite possible that they may be able to worry through life, even a life of peace, without such adornments. It has been known to happen." Yes, it is quite possible; it has been known to happen. But when it does happen that humanistic studies are banished from the reach of youth, the result is and ever must be the multiplication of just such little men with eyes upon the ground as the one just quoted.

In contrast with such an utterance it is encouraging to turn to the following sane and forward-looking editorial of the *New York Evening Sun*, which holds that even in war time we should still hold fast to and keep the humanistic tradition alive:

It will not do to let the wheels stop entirely. At least a skeleton of the old structure must be saved, and even in war times the "humanities" must not be neglected. The work of the scientific schools is apt to survive easily, as it fits in with the obvious technical demands. But the maintenance of the ancient cultural forces is equally important. Surely a way can be found to save and continue in limited but vital functioning all the finer elements of the old curriculum. We are inclined to think that study of Greek literature, art, philosophy, and "humane letters" was never so importantly an "essential industry" as at present. We shall need them when peace comes. The light must be kept burning.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON QUESTIONNAIRE¹

BY ALBERT S. PERKINS
Dorchester High School, Boston

After communicating with Miss Sabin and Miss Hanson with reference to the questions sent out by the Western Association, the Committee² decided to ascertain the opinion of teachers of Latin and Greek, of school superintendents, instructors of pedagogy and educational psychology in normal schools and colleges, and in general of men and women prominent in education. Copies of the two sets of questions, with the tabulation of replies, are given below.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS IN PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

I. Would you advise that any study or studies be taken in secondary schools chiefly for the sake of *mental discipline*? If so, what studies?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 39	Yes to No = 1 : 2.91	Yes..... 25.49
No..... 114		No..... 74.51
Total..... 153		100.00

II. In the teaching of Latin would you recommend that emphasis be laid upon English vocabulary building and the literary features of the authors read, with the study of forms and syntax made, not an end, but a means to an end?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 146	Yes to No = 20.86 : 1	Yes..... 95.42
No..... 7		No..... 4.58
Total..... 153		100.00

¹ Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, March 23, 1918.

² Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School; Adèle Allen, Holyoke High School; Josiah Bridge, Westminster School.

III. Would you favor a country-wide series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability for the purpose (1) of testing comparative facility in English vocabulary building, and (2) of determining whether the study of Latin has resulted in added mental power, that is, has served as a means of *mental discipline*?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 98	Yes to No=1.88 : 1	Yes..... 65.33
No..... 52		No..... 34.67
Total..... 150		100.00

IV. Would you recommend that questions be placed on the Latin papers of the College Entrance Board to test ability to correlate English derivatives with Latin originals, without, however, increasing the amount of time to be devoted to Latin in the secondary school? If your answer is in the affirmative, would you recommend that the time for the proposed requirement in English vocabulary through the Latin be taken from advanced Latin composition? Please offer detailed constructive suggestions on this point.

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 108	Yes to No=4.69 : 1	Yes..... 82.44
No..... 23		No..... 17.56
Total..... 131		100.00

V. In view of the fact that so large a proportion of the English words used in business and other vocational pursuits are of Latin origin, would you favor for high schools or junior high schools the establishment of a course of at least two years in "vocational Latin," that is, Latin taught largely for English vocabulary to commercial and other vocational pupils, to the end that their earning capacity may be increased?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 71	Yes to No=1 : 1.07	Yes..... 48.30
No..... 76		No..... 51.70
Total..... 147		100.00

VI. Do you favor the teaching of Greek in secondary schools, especially (1) if teachers are willing to give additional hours in case the classes are small; (2) if, as in Latin, English derivatives are correlated with Greek originals; and (3) if emphasis is placed on essentials, with nonessentials put in the background, as in the new comprehensive examination of the College Entrance Board?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 73	Yes to No=1.04 : 1	Yes..... 51.05
No..... 70		No..... 48.95
Total..... 143		100.00

VII. Please offer constructive suggestions for improvement in the teaching of Latin and Greek, or for widening the scope of their influence and helpfulness, not brought out by the above questions.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LATIN TEACHERS

I. 1. Would you be interested in a supply house, or bureau, for sending out to teachers of Latin who wish it certain material useful in their work?

2. Have you anything to suggest as an addition to the following list? Slides, photographs, costumes for Latin plays, a list of books for a model high-school library, a monthly bulletin giving notices of new books and articles in current magazines of special interest to the Latin teacher, new ideas in the Latin professional world, an account of a country-wide series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability, Latin publicity material, statistics regarding Latin in other states, etc.

3. Would you advise an occasional lecture in your city or town to the general public upon the value of the study of Latin and Greek?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 47	Yes to No = 11.75 : 1	Yes..... 92.16
No..... 4		No..... 7.84
Total..... 51		100.00

II. Would you favor the establishment of some system of professional correspondence whereby the needs of teachers along various lines might be furthered?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 35	Yes to No = 7 : 1	Yes..... 87.50
No..... 5		No..... 12.50
Total..... 40		100.00

III. If some plan could be worked out for a closer co-operation among the schools for the purpose of achieving better results than teachers are now getting, would you be interested in lending your assistance? Would you be willing, for example, to help in working out such a problem as practical ways of correlating Latin with other subjects in the high school or junior high school curriculum; a suitable Latin vocabulary list for four years of the course based directly upon the text as it is read in various schools; or English derivatives for 400 or 500 Latin words included in the course; or a minimum amount of form and syntax work for each year, etc.?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 43	Yes to No = 14.33 : 1	Yes..... 93.48
No..... 3		No..... 6.52
Total..... 46		100.00

IV. 1. Would you like to see some scheme worked out whereby skilled teachers of high-school Latin could visit younger teachers and assist them directly in solving the problems of their work?

2. Can you offer constructive suggestions on the above point?

3. Would you think it a good plan for the director of the course for the training of Latin teachers in university, college, or normal school to work out some "follow up" system whereby he could make occasional visits, at least, to young teachers who have been in his classes in the preceding year?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 42	Yes to No = 8.4 : 1	Yes..... 89.36
No..... 5		No..... 10.64
Total..... 47		100.00

V. 1. Has Greek ever been taught in your school? If so, in what years?

2. Is there a demand for the study of Greek in the school today?

3. Will you co-operate in meeting this demand, if it exists, or in creating the demand, if it does not exist, by using the following methods?

a) Representing to successful first-year Latin pupils the desirability of the study of Greek.

b) By teaching extra hours, in case the classes are small, that the number of "pupil hours" of the Greek teacher shall not fall below the average of the school.

c) By correlating English derivatives with Greek originals.

d) By putting nonessentials in the background and emphasizing essentials, so as to enable pupils to read Greek masterpieces as soon and as appreciatively as possible, in general, following the lines of the new comprehensive examination of the College Entrance Board.

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 14	Yes to No = 1 : 2.21	Yes..... 31.12
No..... 31		No..... 68.88
Total..... 45		100.00

VI. Would you favor a country-wide series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability for the purpose (1) of testing comparative power in English vocabulary building, and (2) of determining whether the study of Latin has resulted in added mental power, that is, has served as a means of *mental discipline*?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 35	Yes to No = 4.38 : 1	Yes..... 81.37
No..... 8		No..... 18.63
Total..... 43		100.00

VII. Would you recommend that questions be placed on the Latin papers of the College Entrance Board to test the candidate's ability to correlate English derivatives with Latin originals, without, however, increasing the amount of time to be devoted to Latin in the college preparatory course? Would you recommend that the time for the proposed requirement in English vocabulary through the Latin be taken from advanced Latin composition? Please offer detailed constructive suggestions on this point, after conferring with your headmaster and school superintendent.

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 35	Yes to No=11.66 : 1	Yes..... 92.10
No..... 3		No..... 7.90
Total..... 38		100.00

VIII. Is there a demand in your school (or the junior high school connected with it) for a course of at least two years in "vocational Latin," that is, Latin taught largely for English vocabulary to commercial or other vocational pupils? If such a demand does not exist at present, would you be willing to co-operate in creating it by setting before school superintendents, headmasters, commercial (or other vocational) teachers, and students the importance of Latin as a *vocational study*, from the fact that a large proportion of the English words used in business and other vocational pursuits at the present time are of Latin origin, and that a thorough knowledge of the meaning and use of these words would serve to increase the earning capacity of pupils in later life?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 31	Yes to No=3.1 : 1	Yes..... 75.61
No..... 10		No..... 24.39
Total..... 41		100.00

IX. Please offer constructive suggestions for improvement in the teaching of Latin and Greek, or for widening the scope of their influence and helpfulness, not brought out by the above questions.

On the teachers' questionnaire the results ranged from 14.33 to 1 ("Yes" to "No") in No. III, to 3.1 to 1 in No. VIII, except, strangely enough, in No. V, the Greek question. Here "Yes" to "No" was in the ratio of 1 to 2.21. Some teachers said that their work was so heavy that they had no strength to teach extra hours. Others had not studied Greek and had no time to get it up. A few claimed exemption on the ground that their superintendents were opposed to Greek. It is encouraging, however, to find on the superintendents' paper the replies to this question in the ratio of 1.04 to 1, or 51.05 per cent in favor of Greek.

With reference to No. I in the superintendents' questionnaire you will note that on the question in the abstract "No" is to "Yes" nearly 3 to 1; but there were notable exceptions. For example, Dr. G. Stanley Hall replied: "Yes, Latin." Mr. A. L. Rafter, of the Boston Board of Superintendents: "I would advise that Latin be taken in secondary schools for the sake of mental discipline." President Wooley, of Mount Holyoke: "I certainly still believe in the much-criticized mental discipline." President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of the University of California, said: "Yes, mathematics and Latin." Samuel B. Allison, assistant superintendent in charge of standards and statistics, Chicago Board of Education, writes as follows:

I think it good practice that pupils be advised to take studies that they do not particularly care for. I know of one case where such advice was given to a high-school pupil who thought he had a great aversion for arithmetic. Upon being advised to try it anyway, he has found that his main forte lies in mathematics, and now he is choosing his college course with reference to taking as much mathematics as he can get.

But many who replied "No" to the question in the abstract in reality took middle ground. Thus President Eliot: "No, if discipline means compelled attention to subjects or operations in which the pupil has no interest; all the studies should be taken, if made interesting." Dr. E. L. Thorndike, of Columbia, writes: "Not solely. Probably not chiefly, if that means over 90 per cent of the reason." Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, of the Lincoln School, New York City, answered, "No," but added, "There are so many studies which give mental discipline and at the same time give other values that I would not teach anything *solely* for discipline." Professor McConaughy, of Dartmouth: "Classicists are on very shaky ground when they justify the teaching of Latin *wholly* from the standpoint of mental discipline"—with the implication that it might be justified, partly at least, from that point of view. Walter E. Ranger, commissioner of public schools, Rhode Island, thinks that "all study has disciplinary value"; while Joseph E. Russell, dean of Teachers College, Columbia, is of the opinion that "every study should give mental discipline." Professor Hanus, of Harvard, summarizes this middle ground as follows: "Every

subject should be so studied as to result in the mental discipline primarily peculiar to that subject."

From a consideration of these comments and numerous others it seems fair to assume, with reference to the vexed question of mental discipline, that the pendulum has already swung noticeably toward the affirmative. In fact, if Question I had been worded in a slightly different way the replies would have been emphatically "Yes."

The result of No. II is overwhelmingly "Yes." David Starr Jordan writes, "When the Latin is useful, that is, 'digestible,' the word-forming feature is most important, the syntax least." Dr. M. B. Hillegas, Vermont commissioner of education, replies, "Yes," as did also Dr. Edward F. Buchner, of Johns Hopkins, and Professor Anna G. McKeag, of Wellesley. Dr. Charles F. Thwing, of Western Reserve College, writes, "Yes, by all means." Professor A. F. McDonald, of Bates, "Decidedly yes." Frank C. Moore, principal of State Normal School, Los Angeles, "If I taught Latin, I should attempt to make it specifically useful." Dr. Andrew F. West, of Princeton, "Yes, provided the essential principles of the language are not neglected." The reply of Dr. Payson Smith, Massachusetts commissioner of education, in a few words summarizes the opinions of those who voted "Yes" on this question. "The study of forms and syntax," writes Dr. Smith, "should be used solely as a means to the enjoyment and use of the language."

With regard to No. III, while the majority favored making the measurements, yet a few thought that nothing would be proved. Thus Professor Hanus wrote, "Yes, to the first part of No. III; but taken by themselves the results of such a test would not be conclusive. It would not be possible to secure the answer to (2). Accordingly I have crossed out (2)." In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability, to decide whether Latin had given power or not, was suggested a few years ago by Professor Holmes, Professor Hanus' colleague at Harvard. In the opinion of many the results would be conclusive. Thus Dr. E. L. Thorndike, of Columbia, favors an *adequate* series of measurements to determine *how far* the study of Latin has served as a means of mental discipline.

Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, of the Lincoln School, writes, "Yes, if you can devise sure means of knowing that you are dealing with comparable groups of pupils and comparable teaching." In any case would not the publicity involved in doing things on so big a scale serve to arouse interest in the cause of the classics by showing that ability to "hustle" is by no means confined to teachers of the so-called *practical* subjects? Therefore I most strongly urge that the country-wide measurements be made—and made by men of such fairness and eminence that the results will be accepted the world over without question.¹

The replies to No. IV were decisive, though a few thought that the time should not be taken from Latin composition. Thus Professor West writes, "Both composition and derivation of English words from Latin sources should be studied in school and tested on College Entrance Board examinations." Dr. F. F. Murdock, principal of the State Normal School, North Adams, thinks both ends could be accomplished. He writes:

No greater improvement could be made than to introduce questions on the written papers of the College Entrance Board to test the ability of correlating English derivatives with Latin originals. It is my notion that if half as much Latin were translated and the time thus saved were given to etymology, in a few years it would be possible to do the work both in etymology and in translation to a much greater degree of efficiency than now prevails in either.

Dr. Frank T. Graves, dean of the School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania, is of the same opinion: "There is no need of extra time to accomplish this, as the study of English derivatives will save time through stimulation of interest and facilitating memory." Dr. Alexis F. Lange, professor of education in the University of California, believes that the whole question

¹ At the Windsor meeting just before adjournment, upon motion of Professor Nixon, of Bowdoin, the following vote was passed: "That a committee of three shall be appointed by the chair to secure an adequate series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin students of equal academic standing in public high schools, private secondary schools, and colleges, for the purpose (1) of testing comparative facility in the use of English, and (2) of determining how far the study of Latin has resulted in added mental power." Dr. Barss later appointed the committee as follows: Albert S. Perkins, chairman; George H. Browne, principal of Browne and Nichols School, and Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard.

should be re-examined from another standpoint: "English should always be the starting-point for Latin, and the comparative method in constant use. The potential values of Latin must be re-examined from this point of view."

Nearly all, however, approve of taking the time from advanced composition, but of using this time, not in the last year alone, but throughout the four years of the Latin course. Thus Dr. Julius Sachs, of Columbia: "Yes, and the time should be taken from advanced Latin composition, in which the work, as a rule, is worthless." And Dr. T. M. Balliet, of the school of pedagogy of New York University: "Yes, to both questions. Latin composition is of chief value as a means of fixing forms and syntax. An elementary course ought to be sufficient for secondary schools." Dr. Caldwell, of the Lincoln School: "Yes. Take the time from Latin composition. This change is important, since English *should be improved* as suggested." Dr. A. R. Brubacher, president of New York State College for Teachers, Albany: "The test in English derivatives will have proper place on college-entrance examination papers. I am in favor of decreasing the amount of time given to Latin composition, and that such time be devoted to the study of derivatives." Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California: "Yes, I do not see why, from the very first, and in each year of the course, attention should not be given to this matter." David Starr Jordan: "The vocabulary part of Latin is the essential part after general scholarship. Latin literature is negligible in a crowded world, and the antiquated syntax a matter for philologists." Dr. C. E. Chadsey, superintendent of public schools, Detroit, Michigan: "Yes, to both parts of IV. I certainly believe that in the teaching of both Latin and Greek it is advisable to correlate English derivatives with the originals, and I heartily concur in the idea that emphasis should always be placed upon essentials and that nonessentials be put in the background." Dr. William H. Burnham, department of pedagogy, Clark University: "I should recommend such questions on the entrance Latin papers, and the time could be taken, I think, with advantage from the advanced Latin composition."

With reference to No. V, not a few of those who sent replies had evidently not heard of vocational Latin. A few others were suspicious of it. For example, Dr. F. F. Murdock, principal, State Normal School, North Adams, says, "There is no 'vocational Latin.' The words are a subterfuge for the purpose of retaining Latin in high schools, and perhaps of compelling more students to take the subject." Many superintendents apparently were fearful that courses of studies might have to be revised, or a place found for Latin in the already crowded vocational curriculum. A few prominent educators objected to teaching *general* English vocabulary to vocational pupils. Thus Professor Hanus advises that vocational pupils be taught the vocabulary that goes with their particular vocation. But if we do this, are we not limiting the possibilities of advancement of our young people? At the Boston meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, last March, Dr. Payson Smith, Massachusetts commissioner of education, made an earnest plea for *equality of educational opportunity*. All of our boys cannot, of course, be presidents. But is not an educational system to be deplored which from the start dooms the boy to a life of mediocrity? Is it not our duty to give our young people the opportunity to make the most of every faculty they possess, and to make them believe, if we can, that nothing in life is too lofty for them to aspire to? Therefore, why not give pupils in vocational courses the chance to build up a general English vocabulary by a thorough study of Latin, and thus enable them to be ready, in one important respect at least, for any opportunity that presents itself?

With reference to the results in No. V there is reason for encouragement in the fact that nearly half of the superintendents and educators voted in the affirmative, and that in the corresponding question on the other questionnaire practically all the teachers said "Yes," the "Noes" consisting largely of those in schools where no vocational courses are given.

Since the tabulation of the answers was made several replies have been received from superintendents and educators, practically all of whom voted "Yes" to this question. Thus

Mr. George C. Minard, superintendent of the Arlington public schools, comments as follows:

We are carrying on a little experiment in the junior high school. What the outcome will be I cannot say now. We have taken the two lowest grade divisions we could get together, that is, low so far as English work is concerned, and are giving one of the divisions Latin. Like tests will be given to both divisions during the year. Does this sound practical to you, and in your opinion might we learn something?

Another late reply was received from Mr. Herbert W. Lull, superintendent of public schools, Newport, Rhode Island, who writes with reference to No. V as follows: "I am interested in the results of experiments in 'vocational Latin,' and favor their continuance and extension." And Dr. Caldwell of the Lincoln School: "Try one year in vocational Latin first, and see what results may be secured." The final tabulation should therefore be at least 1 to 1, or fully 50 per cent "Yes."

With reference to No. VII, Mr. J. Mace Andrews, instructor in psychology in the Boston Normal School, answers as follows: "There should be a more detailed study of the origin of English words. Most pupils of Latin that I have come in contact with fail to appreciate the classics studied in relation to civilization." Dr. Glen L. Swiggett, specialist in commercial education at Washington, in his comment approves of No. V, and quotes from *Bulletin No. 25*, 1916, on commercial education, page 5, as follows: "The study of Latin should precede, if possible, that of the modern languages."

Dr. Payson Smith makes this comment: "The largest possible attention of teachers of Latin should be paid to the contacts of this language with other subjects, with other languages, and with related interests of the students. There should be a changed point of view, so that Latin will be regarded, not as a preparatory subject, but as a subject with inherent educational possibilities." Professor Holmes, of the Division of Education at Harvard, made the following comment:

Distinguish sharply between Latin as language and Latin as literature. For those who take more than two years of Latin, aim actually to achieve the literary ends of the teaching of the subject. Let no one go into third-year

Latin who is not capable of genuine literary study. In the third and fourth years get something of Horace, Catullus, Terence, Pliny, and others, in addition to Cicero and Vergil. Adjust college-entrance requirements accordingly.

Dr. Frank Bunker, specialist in foreign educational systems, to whom the questionnaire was referred by the Commissioner of Education, Dr. P. P. Claxton, would teach the classics as the modern languages are taught. "Begin conversationally and with stories of modern interest put into Latin or Greek, after the methods of the best modern-language teaching. Keep the grammar in the background and for more advanced work." David Starr Jordan, after No. VII, writes as follows: "My use of Latin and of Greek has been considerable, but almost wholly in connection with word origins and original meanings, and in scientific nomenclature." Dr. Edwin R. Snyder, California commissioner of vocational education: "I believe that the study of Latin can be justified on the ground of utility." Dr. G. Stanley Hall: "One great trouble with Greek and Latin is first, bad teaching due to (a) insufficient training of teachers; (b) not enough diagrams, charts, illustrative apparatus, e.g., the St. Louis collection; (c) too much stress on formal grammar at first; (d) far too slow a pace and too little intensive work. The teacher should be the dictionary, and should be far more alive, and not dead like his language." Mr. J. F. Gannon, assistant superintendent, Worcester: "To my mind it is a part of good teaching continually to correlate English derivatives with Latin originals. The time element should be a variant. A sensible propaganda should be waged for the teaching of Latin and Greek. We should emphasize the value of these studies at every favorable opportunity."

Dr. W. N. Bagley, director of school education, University of Illinois, in his comment thus writes with reference to No. III: "Yes, if these could be planned and conducted by a competent educational psychologist—a man like E. L. Thorndike or G. M. Whipple." And later:

Some of the best teaching done now is in these subjects. It is, I believe, useless to reply in kind to abusive and prejudicial attacks upon the classics, but sincere criticism should be met sincerely. To say that the classicist should join hands with the psychologist may be to make a proposal abhorrent to the

party of the first part. But I sincerely believe that the sooner these two specialists get together, the better it will be, both for American education and for the finer culture of our democracy.

Replies were received from school superintendents, who are in close touch with the taxpayer; from instructors in pedagogy and educational psychology, who look upon the subject as a science; from commissioners of education, both national and state, who consider the question from the viewpoint of the public interest; from prominent educators the country over, whose reputation rests upon actual achievement in the educational field. Is there not substantial ground for encouragement in the fact that from all these there are but three who advise that the classics shall not be taught in the secondary school? Nearly one hundred and sixty others recommend, not that the study of Latin be given up, but that methods be modified, largely in the direction of utility, as might be expected in this practical age.

Allow me to close this report by quoting President Eliot's comment in answer to No. VII: "I recommend that Latin and Greek continue to be taught as elective subjects in all secondary schools supported by taxation, endowment, or fees, which can afford to pay the required salaries, the methods in teaching to be those suggested in questions II, IV, and VI above."

MARITIME ASPECTS OF HOMERIC GREECE

BY C. A. MAURY
Seattle, Washington

Homer is in a sense a child of the sea. The language of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* abounds in allusions to the sea and sea life. One of the six nouns most common to the Homeric vocabulary is *νῆς*. But a knowledge of, and love for, the sea on the part of a poetic genius is no proof that the Homeric Greeks, as a people, were bold mariners. What a contrast between the glorious sea poetry of Homer and (excepting the expedition to Troy) the maritime characteristics of the Achaeans, which he depicts! Much error still obtains concerning the character and extent of Homeric Greek nautical enterprise. That enterprise, typically regarded, was of narrow range. It is admitted at once that by far the largest number of ships referred to by Homer are Grecian.

Of course, in a sense, and a most important one, Homer is History. Our expanded knowledge of the Homeric age remarkably justifies Thucydides in regarding the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as essentially historical. We do not overlook the Homeric expedition to Troy. The return from Troy was not commercially typical, where reflecting fact at all, as a careful examination of the text will demonstrate. The reference (γ 301) to the ships of Menelaus laden with goods is non-typical. What a perilous adventure that was! The Taphian mariners were probably not Greeks, but, contrary to general assumption, descendants of a westerly colony of Phoenicians and imbued with some maritime traits of their fathers.

The Homeric Greeks built a fleet in preparation for the Trojan War, animated by a similar impulse to that of the Romans in creating a sufficient navy in order to cope with the Carthaginians. Both efforts were then hitherto unprecedented in the annals of Greece and Rome. What a tremendous incentive is war! What unparalleled efforts in American history are put forth in our own land in this very hour, impelled by war! So in principle regarding

those 1,186 Greek ships that sailed to Troy. But the journey to Troy offered no such obstacles to the Homeric Greeks as did navigation to some other ἀπὸ τῆς γαίης. Troy was comparatively near, and with intervening isles. The Greek victory at Troy was barren; see γ 130, 175, ε 108, τ 597, ω 27. That victory was worse than barren. How consistent is the national decline of Homeric Greece which followed the Trojan War, with all the inferences of tradition! After Troy, the Achaiaans had not sufficient vitality to expel the constantly pressing Dorians in the Peloponnesus, within a century of the sacking of "that evil Ilios never to be named" (τ 597). The Achaiaan land never recovered from that adversity intimated by old Nestor: "ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀγαίῃδα γαίαν ἰκάνει (A 254). It is no surprise then to find in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* no allusion to a notable foreign commerce in Greek bottoms. We cannot infer, as Dr. Leaf does, that because the Homeric Greeks transported an army to Troy they also conducted a notable foreign commerce.¹ In this, "Homer can only be interpreted by Homer."

How small a Greek ship was! Merchant ships had twenty oarsmen (ι 322). The war ships of Achilles and Protesilaus had each fifty oarsmen (π 170, B 719). The war ships of the Boeotian contingent each had one hundred and twenty men (B 510); these were much larger than merchant ships. Compare these war ships with those of the later Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Romans! And how utterly insignificant in size is the Homeric ship at Troy in comparison with those of the Egyptian Empire in its bloom. In a recent publication, A. Bothwell Gosse states, regarding the Egyptian men-of-war: "Rameses II had a fleet of four hundred on the Arabian Gulf. Some of the vessels were very large. He built one of cedar wood, 488 feet long; another, built much later, was three hundred feet long, forty-five feet wide, and sixty feet high."² Gosse adds: "One ship carried four thousand rowers, four hundred sailors, and three thousand soldiers"³—in other words, seven thousand four hundred men!

¹ *Classical Journal*, XIII, 68.

² *The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York: Stokes Press), p. 27.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

A Homeric ship with a hundred benches (*ἑκατόζυγος*) is mentioned as hyperbole (Τ 247). The almost constant use of oars on a voyage is shown by the expressions in which they are termed *πτηρὰ νηυσί*. Further proof of the small capacity of the Homeric boat and its inability to traverse safely wide stretches of sea is the availability of a mere inlet as a harbor (*λιμήν*), so small was the ship. How small the *ἵκρια* of a Homeric ship; such was only fore and aft. How few provisions were carried aboard a Homeric ship (β 349, ε 265). That Homer never applies the term *ναυσικλυτός* to the Achaeans is not surprising; he reserves it for Phaeacians in fancy and Phoenicians in reality. The latter, of course, were the great carriers in the Mediterranean in the Homeric age. Nor is the epithet *φιλήρετος* bestowed upon the Achaeans; it is given to the Phaeacians and Taphians. Nor is it remarkable that with such small ships the Homeric Greeks generally moored for the night. The ships of Odysseus are only open boats, with no arrangements of any sort for cooking or sleeping. The only night voyages willingly undertaken are those of Telemachus to Pylos and return (β 434, ο 296). The continuous voyages of Homeric mariners are usually short: that of Telemachus to Pylos required a single night (β 434, ο 296, 495); the voyage from Troy to Chrysa seems to have taken but a few hours (Α 472); on his return from Troy, Nestor spends the first night at Tenedos, fifteen miles distant; the second night at Lesbos, fifty miles from Tenedos. After mustering courage to cross the Aegean Sea (it is only about seventy-two English miles from Psyria to Cyme in Euboea), Nestor and his companions offer a sacrifice "for joy that we had measured out so great a stretch of sea" (γ 179)! The longest continuous voyage a Homeric Greek appears to have taken seems to have been from Crete to Egypt (ξ 257), and to have required four days' time. Of the voyage from Greece to Egypt, note especially the remark: "Thence not even the birds can make their way in a year, so great a sea it is and terrible" (*ἐπεὶ μέγα τε δεινόν τε*); and, "None would hope in his heart to return . . . driven wandering into so wide a sea" (γ 319)! With what wonder or dread the Homeric mariner contemplates the great gulf of the sea (*μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης*) (δ 504); the perilous gulfs of the barren sea (*ὄς*

τε κατὰ δεινούς κόλπους ἄλως ἀτρυγέτοιο) (ε 52) and see δ 510, 709, ε 175 (in this line how typical to call the sea δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε!), 223, 409, 563, η 734, ν 264 (among others). Especially note the fact that the Homeric Greeks could not sail against the wind, as is shown in their prolonged stay at the Isle of the Sun in μ 326 and 400. Above all things, the Homeric mariner dreads ἐπείγῃ ἴς ἀνέμου! It is no surprise then that Agamemnon, on his return from Troy, adopts the longer route, sailing past Malea, that he may be comparatively near shore all the way (δ 514)! For some other typical experiences see ε 299 f., ι 62 f., κ 48 f., μ 42 f.

Homer applies the term ἔφαλος to coast towns (B 538, 584), but how insignificant are Homeric Kerinthos and Helos in comparison with then notable Greek cities, such as Mycene, Orchomenos, and Thebes; Corinth, for peculiar geographical reasons, is an exception. And contrast that maritime inconsequence with the fact that most of the great Greek cities of the "historical" period were either ἔφαλος or ἀγχίαλος.

And the testimony of the *Iliad* is consistent with that of the *Odyssey*. We have already referred to the expedition of the 1,186 ships to Troy. How glaring is the rule in the *Iliad* concerning Greek ships in contrast to the single exception! Note that no ship is portrayed upon the shield of Achilles, which is typical of Greek life! No scene on the shield is ἀλλοδαπός to Greek life. Why then should the shield be considered as of foreign design, simply because it omits ships? Greek maritime life had not become of sufficient importance to be typified upon the shield.

Temesa (probably in Bruttium) is the destination of the Taphian ship in quest of copper (α 184). In ω 211 the aged servant of Laertes is a Sicilian woman (γυνή Σικελή) and in ν 383 the Sicilians are mentioned as slave traders; no more is heard of that race; no one even knows whether it had yet come to dwell on that glorious isle of Sicily. But assume that Bruttium and Sicily are intended by Homer; they are the only two references to any now positively identified foreign land of the West. Even on that assumption it may be well disputed that such intercourse was in Greek ships, as hereinbefore intimated. Many theories have been evolved of a notable western commerce in Greek ships in the time of Homer.

Such theories, however, presuppose a much later date for the composition of the *Odyssey* than is warranted. The Homeric poems were composed within a century of the fall of Troy. Homer was contemporary with the age which he depicts.

Concerning the Euxine, the case seems clear that in the time of Homer this sea was unknown to Greek ships; see my article on "The Leaf-Ramsey Theory of the Trojan War" in *Classical Journal* of April, 1917. That sea is not even named by Homer! He refers in λ 13 to Scythia (called *κιμμερίων δῆμος*) as being at "the limits of the world" (*Ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἔκανε βαθυρρόον Ὠκεανοῖο*).

But what about the earlier invasion of Egypt by the Greeks in a pre-Homeric age? And what about the Egyptian influence upon Greek civilization—an influence which was hoary in the time of Homer? Many writers accept such an invasion as an unquestionable fact. But such is not established. Near the close of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty the Libyans invaded Egypt. Among their allies were the Edwesh.¹ It is but a suggestion that these were Achaiaans—no proof that they were. Early in the Twentieth Dynasty another Libyan invasion of Egypt occurred, and their allies were the "peoples of the sea." Included with the latter were the Peleset (Cretans). And among other allies of the Libyans on that invasion were the Denyen;² were they the Danaans? Grant that the Greeks did invade Egypt on both occasions. They probably did so as mercenaries. Homer reverences the past. Had those expeditions been noteworthy he would have honored such Grecian achievements. Such expeditions were under the auspices of Crete, if they occurred at all. The present generation has thrown a flood of light upon the astonishing civilization of *Κρήτην ἐκατόμυμον*, a deeply impressive and noble progenitor of Homeric Culture. Cretan civilization was yet in its bloom, though nearing its nadir, at the time of those invasions. The Greeks then went to Egypt in Cretan ships. They had not then learned the business of seafaring. As Bury observes,³ it took the Greeks "many ages" to learn that trade after they had

¹ *Encyc. Brit.* (11th ed.), IX, 85.

² *Ibid.*

³ *History of Greece*, chap. i, sec. 10, p. 76.

reached the coasts of the Aegean Sea. In the time of Homer they had not yet become eminent in seafaring. Both Cretan and Egyptian ships had long visited the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Recall the old sea kings of Crete. Minos, says Thucydides,¹ founded the first maritime empire. It was worthy of that grand entrepôt of three continents, Crete. Those Achaïans who visited Egypt, true to their old hereditary northern spirit, in contrast to the more peaceful, primeval races of the Mediterranean, were then, as later, deserving of that epithet given them in the Homeric poems, *πολιπόρθιος*.

As already intimated, the intercourse between Homeric Greece and Phoenicia, coming down from immemorial times, was not by means of Greek ships.

In conclusion, in foreign commerce and in other foreign venture, apart from Troy, the Homeric marine was generally insignificant. In this "Homer can only be interpreted by Homer." Ingenious theories to the contrary have been widely accepted, a phenomenon which is easily explained in the very words of the inspired old Greek singer:

τὴν γὰρ αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,
ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέλῃται. (α 351)

¹Book I. 4.

CAESAR REDIVIVUS

By A. P. MCKINLAY
Portland, Oregon

In the latter part of July, 1914, there was sitting on the broad veranda of the house boat on the Styx that prince of pragmatists, Machiavelli. He held a book in his hand. It was a symposium on the new education. There was an article by Mr. Flexner on the demise of Caesar, another by Dr. Eliot on "That Bad Education." In classic language Dr. Sisson damned the classics with faint praise, and Superintendent Nightingale contributed his quota to the chorus of censure. As the reader thumbed the pages he would mutter, "Poor Caesar," or, "It will go hard with the old dictator to yield to the new régime."

"What's that you are saying?" interrupted the old Roman himself, looking up from his reading of the *London Times*.

"Oh, I was just feeling sorry for you because of the way they are relegating you to 'innocuous desuetude' in the schools of America."

"I don't worry," replied he of the laurel wreath. "Hardly less than the student of Romance languages can the English-speaking boy get along without me. For when it comes to a mastery of the English language I am no more dead than Chaucer. Most of the learned words of the language come from me and my fellow-Latins. I furnish the key that unlocks the haunts of many spelling demons, such as 'separate,' 'necessity,' and 'absence.' I am the blessed benefactor of the English teacher, for through me, without effort on her part, her pupils get a mastery of grammar, sentence structure, and analysis, and a feeling for shades of word-meanings almost impossible to acquire merely through the vernacular."

"In fact, I have in my pocket a letter from Portland, Oregon, telling about the Latin situation there. It appears that in one of the big high schools of the city the Latin teachers are provided with

the tools of their English coadjutors. These consist of lists of minimum requirements in spelling and grammar; of certain specified work in etymology, embracing prefixes, suffixes, and a technical vocabulary from several of the branches of knowledge, such as biology; also of rules for sentence structure and punctuation with an outline for sentence analysis.

"These tools are for regular use. For many months practically every sentence in my *Commentaries* is analyzed till the students have mastered the situation. Every case of poor English in a translation is identified from the rules and corrected accordingly. The result is that the teachers of English and science are backing up Latin most enthusiastically.

"This correlation of Latin with English seems largely to account for the surprising results in a recent grammar test held by the high schools of that city. The test was given to all third-term pupils. The average for the city was 75 per cent, for the high school in question 89 per cent. In that school 81 per cent of the Latin pupils exceeded the general average, whereas 66 per cent of the English pupils fell below. I fear not for the future of Latin. Even Professor Nightingale himself, one of the contributors to your symposium, pointed the climax of his attack by a parody on my 'veni, vidi, vici.'

"Aside from this linguistic necessity for my immortality," went on the Emperor, "there is a more important one still—namely, political. The man who knows not my *Gallic War* may never become an authority on European politics. Tell me, Polybius—for you too are a pragmatist—what is the great political fact in Western Europe from my time on?"

"Evidently the Teutonic question," replied the Greek.

"Who first stated that question?"

"You, of course," answered Polybius.

"What was my great contribution to civilization?" continued Caesar.

"The relief of the Germanic pressure and the consolidation of a strong buffer state that saved Latin culture for four hundred years."

"Well then I would like to know how anyone is going to express an intelligent opinion on this subject without paying tribute to me.

Take even a minor phase of that question, the disposition of Alsace-Lorraine. Both disputants appeal to priority of time to substantiate their claims. On that basis I should have the decision of the award, which would fall to France, for in my day Gaul reached to the Rhine.

"Furthermore I have a presentiment that something is about to happen that will bring about a revival of interest in my history. The assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne is a deed pregnant with possibilities. Say, Tolstoi, don't you remember that blood-curdling prophecy you sent to the Kaiser in 1911?"

"Yes, yes, in the next year a war was to break out in the Balkans," mused the seer.

"It did, didn't it?"

"Yes, and this was to be followed in 1914 by a world-wide conflagration, and there was a great deal more that I have forgotten."

For the last few minutes the wireless station on the near-by shore had been crackling excitedly. Hardly had the Russian prophet ceased speaking when in rushed Mercury with a radiogram in his hand. He cried out, "The lid is off in Europe. The Kaiser held a conference at Potsdam on July 14, at which the dogs of war were unleashed. Russia and France are mobilizing. Lord Grey is frantically trying to arrange a conference."

Straightway upon receipt of the message Caesar telephoned Calpurnia that he wouldn't be home for dinner. He engaged a room at the club for the duration of the war and kept up a running commentary upon the various bulletins from the field of operations. When Great Britain refused to leave Belgium and France in the lurch and began to mobilize her "ridiculous little army" for the Continent, Caesar said, "That's a habit she acquired in my time and one which was the occasion of my first invasion of the island."

With the posting of the bulletin that had called forth this remark, out snapped Bismarck, "That's the end of that political monstrosity, the British Empire. She will drop to pieces like a rope of sand. We have everything ready to spring a Holy War that will result in the massacre of every Englishman in the confines of Mohammedanism. The Boers too, to say nothing of Canada and the Isles of the Sea, will rise and come to us for deliverance."

"Don't be too sure," retorted the Commentator. "You have read my chapter on the Germanic conception of the right of war and you have taken to your heart Ariovistus' theory that the conqueror may do as he pleases with the conquered. The British and the French too have read my treatise, but they have adopted the Latin view as set forth in the forty-fifth chapter of the first book of the *Gallic War* that provincials should be free, should pay no tribute, and should be allowed to use their own laws. The result is that you have the Polish and Bohemian questions ever with you, whereas Alsace, though German in blood and language, is French in loyalty and spirit, and that wherever plum pudding is eaten for Christmas the peoples are volunteering for the succor of the mother-country."

The air was becoming somewhat surcharged with electricity when Mark Antony ran in with an extra of the *Infernal Times-Courier* in his hand. He called out, "Belgium has accepted the Kaiser's defy and will oppose the violation of her neutrality."

"I pity the little fool," muttered the Iron Chancellor.

"What else could you have expected?" broke in Caesar. "You know by heart my 'Battle with the Nervii,' and surely must remember my judgment that the Belgians are the bravest of all the Gauls, and no doubt you have accepted as a compliment the reason assigned, namely, 'That they are neighbors of the Germans with whom they are continually waging war.'"

At this Grotius interjected, "You don't think Germany will break her guaranty for Belgium, do you? If she does, every treaty will be but a scrap of paper and my whole edifice of international law will collapse in total ruin."

"Let me answer for Caesar," spoke up John Hay. "Study the *Commentaries* and you will find out that whenever Caesar dealt with Germans he found them faithless.

"The first instance to be cited occurred at the conference between Caesar and Ariovistus when the latter's famous cavalry attacked Caesar's bodyguard under the illusion that it was composed of Gallic horsemen. Only Caesar's prescience in having substituted his Tenth Legion for the Gallic riders spoiled Ariovistus' scheme to rid himself of his dangerous rival once and for all.

"To omit the treacherous conduct of the Aduatuci and the Usipites, one more example of Teutonic perfidy will suffice. A few days after the previous episode, in the hope, probably, of getting someone to hold as a hostage, the German chief wrote to Caesar, asking him to send an envoy to finish the conversation of the previous conference. The wily Roman parried the scheme by sending two Gauls. When Ariovistus saw them, in a raucous voice he cried out, 'Why have you come? With the idea of spying?' He ended by throwing them into chains. It later turned out that they would have been burned at the stake if the lots on three several occasions had not been unfavorable. Thus did the German leader flout the sacred right of embassy."

With this interchange of speech the British embargo on wireless went on, leaving Caesar disconsolate. When after several days the fortnightly packet arrived and the mail was delivered at the club, good-natured Cicero turned his budget of *London Times* over to his former enemy. For many an hour the old campaigner sat in his morris chair noting the progress of the *Furor Teutonicus* through Belgium. The habitués of the club gradually dropped away, till he was left alone poring over dispatches every one of which called up reminiscences of his campaign of 57 B.C. On every hand familiar names and places appeared: Namur, Amiens, Soissons, Breteuil, Berry-au-Bac, and Rheims; the Meuse, the Sambre, the Aisne, and the Marne. Finally at the mention of Maubeuge, the battle with the Nervii flashed before his mind and he dozed off to sleep, smiling over the joke he had played on the boys of future generations when after the battle he wrote that page-long sentence in the twenty-fifth chapter of his account of the Belgian confederacy.

Some months later Hannibal looked up from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by André Chéradame, on the efficiency of the German machine. "It seems," observed the Punic thunderbolt, "that the moving principle of the system is that, given a government efficient enough to insure prosperity for the state, the people will submit to any degree of exploitation in the way of industrial organization for military purposes. If I had had such backing, the Mediterranean would have been a Punic rather than a Latin lake."

"That's nothing new," answered Caesar. "It's in the blood of the Germans. The same theory obtained among them in my day. It contemplated a complete industrial organization with self-effacement of the individual in the creation of a military machine that could work its will on other nations. There was no private property. Yearly the leaders met and parceled out the lands. Each year the allotment was shifted. Thus was headed off the development of an individualistic spirit that would have thrown sand in the cogs of their theory of the state.

"This annual reallocation co-ordinated their industrial system nicely with the military organization. The state was divided into districts. Among the Suebi, for instance, there were one hundred. Each unit was composed of two thousand fighting men. Of these, one thousand went to war each year and one thousand remained at home to till the lands and furnish supplies for the armies in the field. Thus was intermitted the practice neither of war nor of agriculture."

In the midst of this conversation newsboys on the bank were heard calling "Extra! Extra!" Petronius, the steward, was immediately dispatched for a copy and came running back with the cry that the "Lusitania" had been sunk. A deep silence fell upon the room, so that even Socrates stopped talking. Presently Caesar looked up from his war library. "You gentlemen," he said, "evidently have not availed yourselves of my invitation to read my collection. Here are some illuminating titles: 'Gems from German Thought,' 'Bernhardi,' 'Treitschke,' 'The Armenian Massacres by a German Eyewitness,' 'Lord Bryce's Report on the Belgian Atrocities,' and above all, 'The German War Book' itself. The latter is particularly in point, for it merely carries out in minute detail the theory of international relations laid down by Ariovistus in the thirty-sixth chapter of the first book of my *Gallie War*. Grant his claim that might makes right, and all else follows.

"The 'will to power' among the Germans of my day was a sufficient warrant for any desire. Brigandage was a path to glory, provided that it was practiced on a foreign state. A cardinal principle of statecraft was the necessity of reducing all neighbors to impotency. Thus the Suebi gloried in having made a wilderness

of the lands bordering on their territory, and in so doing got a reputation for being more than a match for the immortal gods. To them 'necessity knew no law' and was a good title to stolen lands. When Ariovistus fell in love with the fields of sunny France he took them by piecemeal, first one third, then another—at which stage I came on the scene.

"Even allies fared no better. He seized their cities, exacted hostages, and laid tribute. If anything was not done at his nod and beck he visited summary punishment upon the hostages—for specific details read Lord Bryce's report.

"The purpose of this policy was to terrorize the enemy into helplessness. I myself was a witness of its effectiveness. So cowed were Ariovistus' vassals, the Sequani, that in a general council of all Gaul they did not even dare speak a word, for they shuddered at the cruelty of the absent Ariovistus just as if he were present. Their fear spread even among my troops till they fell into such a panic that many gave all sorts of excuses for wanting a furlough. Others moped around in their tents and bewailed their fate. Everybody made his will, and finally rumors reached my ears that the soldiers would mutiny if ordered to advance."

One day Sargon I was reviewing the Verdun situation and expressed surprise that the French, outnumbered almost ten to one in material resources at that point, not only had checked the Teutonic drive, but had finally recovered all their losses. "I thought," said he to Caesar, "that you accused the French of being volatile, of blowing hot and cold in their undertakings. You give a most amusing picture of crowds surrounding a traveler in the market place while he regales them with any fiction to their liking. Whereupon the silly Gauls, without further verification, on the spot are led to take action of which they must soon repent."

"What you say was true in my day," replied the Commentator, "but you must remember that I made Gaul into a state more Latin than Latium herself. I made her the depository of Graeco-Roman culture. She has been true to her trust. She cannot fail, or else will the Occident go down before the Orient, individualism before collectivism, culture before *Kultur*. For the third time have the East and the West locked arms in deadly embrace. To Persia,

the personification of collectivism in the state, Athens said, 'Thou shalt not pass'; to the Saracen, the exemplification of the one idea in religion, Charles Martel said, 'Thou shalt not pass'; and now to the Teuton, the great instance of the one idea in industrial organization, says the Poilu, 'Thou shalt not pass.'"

At this the Associated Press correspondent appeared for his daily budget. To him Caesar intrusted this charge for publication: "Let the Western world look well to its girding. It is in a fearsome tempest. It stands two chances of going down before the imperious surge of orientalism. Collectivism, personified in the Kaiser, is putting our Western culture to a test as never before. It has nearly fulfilled its dream of a pan-Germany reaching from Brussels to Bagdad. And now in alliance with socialism—collectivism under another name—it is about to get control of the undeveloped resources of Russia.

"This chance for Germany to win is one of arms. There is another even more to be feared. Even out of the ashes of defeat, like the fabled Phoenix, she may rise to conquer. This victory will be one of the spirit. As in the former chance she must find allies in the Entente camp, so in the latter is she depending on traitors to the cause of humanism—socialism and the advocates of the 'new education.' To the former she has given the task of befogging the issue between culture and *Kultur*; on the latter she is relying to complete the conquest. They are not disappointing her, for on all sides is heard the hue and cry, 'See what Germany's system of education has done for her. We too must be vocationalized or lose in the battle of life. Hence get away from the past; set your eyes on the future; teach everybody a trade; throw Latin to the dogs and the classics on the junk pile.'

"Let me plead," concluded Caesar, "that the trustee nations of Graeco-Roman culture turn a deaf ear to these siren tones and, remembering how essential the classics are to the understanding of the language and history of the Occident, highly resolve to maintain the trust put in their keeping, for what would it profit them to gain the guerdon of a specious victory and yet finally, yielding to the allurements of a seductive imitation, fall down and worship before the golden calf of Teutonic *Kultur*!"

HIGH-SCHOOL LATIN AND THE NEWLY FORMULATED AIMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION¹

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Far from new these days is the direction of attention to one phase after another of our public life which the present war has directly affected. It is as though a gigantic searchlight had been turned on our country, so that its defects stand out in glaring outlines. Men and women are concerning themselves seriously with conditions to which they gave little more than a passing thought before the war. The man in the street, who a year ago thought of our school system only in terms of the grade in which his child happened to be at that particular time, has now suddenly awakened to the limitless possibilities of that system. He knows now that nations are made and unmade by their educational policies, that whatever a nation wishes to be it must attain through its schools. So we find people urging all manner of innovations, one man demanding compulsory military training in the schools, another compulsory training in agriculture, a third training in mechanics, and so on. There is grave danger that the schools may be asked to shoulder responsibilities which they are in no way ready to assume, and perhaps should not assume. If educators are not agreed on what they wish our schools to accomplish, it may be that laymen will take the schools into their own hands and make of them workshops that will meet only our immediate needs. The time has gone by when it is possible for educators to carry on long discussions of the value of this or that subject. It must be decided what our educational system as a whole aims to do for our pupils, and the subjects in the curricula of our secondary schools must be tested in the light of these aims. Only the sub-

¹ Read at the fourteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

jects that to a considerable degree contribute to the fulfilment of these aims can have a place in our already overcrowded curricula.

Within the past few years the aims of secondary education have become more clearly defined, in order to correspond more nearly to the needs of our democracy and to our awakened national feeling. It may not be without interest at this time to state these aims and to test by them the value of the study of Latin in secondary education.

The goal of education in a democracy such as ours has long been considered to be the developing of the best in each individual, so that he may work with his fellows for the good of society as a whole. In order to become this well-rounded individual who is to be a future citizen, he must have good health; he must be able to maintain a suitable home where he can successfully rear those who later are to take his place in society; he must be able to earn a livelihood; he must be able to assume his share of responsibility of the civic life of his community; he must have the right moral attitude; and he must have some appreciation of the finer things of life, so that he may use his leisure wisely. Briefly then all the studies in the curriculum should contribute to a considerable degree to one or more of these aims, namely, the pupils' health education, home-making education, vocational education, and civic, ethical, or aesthetic education. Subjects that in no way, or to a small degree, contribute to these aims will necessarily be barred from curricula.

In accordance with these newly formulated aims of secondary education we find in the most progressive schools today provision for the care of the pupil's health, either through the school physician, through the school nurse, or through physical training which is more or less compulsory throughout the twelve grades of the school. To give the pupils training in home-making a certain amount of work in household arts is required of all girls, and in some schools boys are required to study budget-making, buying, house-planning, and the like. Through work in history, civil government, junior civic leagues, etc., the pupils receive civic training. The pupils who must earn a livelihood immediately on leaving the elementary or high school are given the choice of

several prevocational curricula and may even have actual vocational experience before leaving the school. Through work in music, art, literature, and like subjects the pupil gains some appreciation of the finer things of life. In both the junior and the senior high schools a fixed amount of laboratory science is required—not because the work has any direct bearing on any of the main aims of secondary education, but because in these days when science plays such an important part it seems necessary to give the pupils some training in scientific methods. The lines of work mentioned above are required of all pupils, but in addition pupils may choose such other subjects as suit their tastes, but only such subjects are offered as in some way further the chief aims of secondary education.

If these become generally recognized as the ultimate aims of secondary education, what then will be the status of the study of Latin when tested by them? Heretofore probably most teachers of Latin have followed more or less the aims in the teaching of Latin set forth in Bennett and Bristol's *The Teaching of Latin and Greek in Secondary Education*.¹ These briefly are as follows: Latin is of value because it confers a mastery over the sources of one's mother-tongue, promotes intellectual discipline and brings intellectual power, and affords also historical training and aesthetic training. Similarly in the recently published *Value of the Classics*,² a record of the addresses delivered at the conference on classical studies and liberal education held at Princeton, June 2, 1917, the foregoing arguments in favor of the classics are almost the only arguments presented. Will they remain valid when tested by the main aims of secondary education as newly formulated?

Latin, *if taught so as to bring out the English side*, is mainly valuable because it confers mastery over the sources of the mother-tongue.³ May not Latin, then, be placed among those studies that give vocational or at least "prevocational" training? For the accurate use of English is a prerequisite in all vocations. It certainly affords "prevocational" training for all professions and occupations

¹ Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1901.

² Princeton University Press, 1917.

³ See Stuart P. Sherman, "English and the Latin Question," *School and Home Education*, April, 1912.

in which a knowledge of technical terms is required. It has "pre-vocational" value also for the lawyer, the teacher, the journalist, the stenographer, and for all other workers who must use English accurately and clearly. If we recognize that the study of Latin has historical value, such study may be used to contribute to the pupil's civic training. The study of Roman institutions affords an understanding of many of our own institutions, since they have received so large an inheritance from the Roman. So too the pupil may gain a broader view of the growth of civic institutions if he has first-hand knowledge of the age-long struggle of men to work together for the betterment of society as a whole.

It is possible for the pupil to compare our own political customs with those of Rome and thus judge more wisely the merits and defects of our own institutions; for it is by comparison that one can best learn to evaluate. Again, if it is recognized that the study of Latin affords aesthetic training, one more of the main aims of secondary education is fulfilled. It has always been strongly affirmed for Latin that it is a "cultural" subject, that it develops an appreciation of art and architecture, and to a certain degree a fuller appreciation of music. In addition, a knowledge of classical ideas is almost indispensable for the appreciation of literature, especially of poetry. In fact, it is doubtful whether there are many other studies in the curriculum which can be made to contribute more to the pupil's appreciation of the finer things of life.

The study of Latin may also help to give the pupil the right moral attitude, for it inculcates in him habits of concentration, industry, and perseverance. It also enables him to study at first hand the works of at least three of the world's greatest characters. He may learn self-control and persistence from Caesar, patriotism from Cicero, and sympathy for mankind from Virgil.

It may be noticed that the newly formulated aims of secondary education do not seem to include what has heretofore been considered one of the strongest reasons for the study of the classics, namely, that it promotes intellectual discipline. The study of laboratory sciences has been made a requisite for graduation from most high schools, not only because it affords some appreciation of the phenomena of nature, but because it affords training in

scientific methods. If the latter is recognized as a valid reason for making a certain amount of work in laboratory science a requisite for graduation, the study of Latin should be retained in the curriculum, at least for the "abstract-minded" pupil. Through it he can be trained to observe, to record correctly the facts observed, to reason accurately from these observations, and to express his conclusions in clear, concise, and cogent language.¹

How will the actual teaching of Latin be affected by these newly recognized aims of secondary education? Probably the largest number of pupils take Latin because some work in foreign language is required as preparation for higher training. For them the study of Latin is clearly "prevocational," since Latin is required for entrance to the best law, medical, theological, and technical schools and for entrance to schools of pharmacy, dentistry, and the like. For other pupils also, who do not intend to enter any of these professions, the study of Latin may be made "prevocational," as already pointed out, since success in any calling depends to a large degree on accurate use of English.

If one recognizes that the ultimate aim of the work in beginning Latin is to afford the pupil this "prevocational" training, the subject will in the future be taught with quite different emphasis. The emphasis will be very largely directed toward making the subject contribute as much as possible to the pupil's understanding of the English language. For instance, a spelling-list, such as that of Dr. Leonard Ayres,² may be used by teachers to find the words whose English derivatives cause trouble. Most of these words are not difficult if one knows their derivation. Here are a few examples: *agriculture*, *laboratory*, *temporary*, *reference*, *evidence*, *commission*. So, too, one may take lists of misused or abused words and make the Latin clear up their meanings. Examples of such are: *audience* for *spectators*, *aggravate* for *annoy*, *alternative* ("three alternatives to choose from"), *decimate* for *destroy*, *imminent* and *eminent*, *accept* and *except*, *emigrate* and *immigrate*, *patent* and *potent*. The meaning of common abbreviations can be taught also as

¹ Charles E. Bennett and George P. Bristol, *The Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901), pp. 22-27.

² Russell Sage Foundation, 1915.

the class learns the expressions for which our commonest abbreviations are made. Thus *i.e.* should be taught with *is ea id.*, *A.D.* with *dominus*, *e.g.* with *gratia*, *A.M.* and *P.M.* with *dies*. The pupil should certainly be taught the motto of the United States when *unus* or *plus* is learned. A very large number of pupils do not know that we have a Latin motto, or what it means. One should also use the Latin to explain the forms of English words whose peculiarities come directly from the Latin. It is possible to illustrate the Latin declensions by English words that preserve the original nominative singular, and even sometimes the nominative plural.¹ Examples of these are as follows: first-declension nouns in English which preserve the Latin nominative singular and plural are: *vertebra*, -ae, *formula*, -ae, *antenna*, -ae; also the following English words preserve the original nominative singular first declension: *arena*, *aurora*, *inertia*, *cornucopia*, *villa*. Latin second-declension nouns are preserved in the English, as *stimulus*, -i, *radius*, -i, *focus*, -i, *fungus*, -i, *nucleus*, -i, and by the following words preserving the original nominative singular form: *circus*, *campus*, *animus*, *discus*, *chorus*. Pupils should notice also the following English words that have the Latin second-declension neuter nominative singular and plural endings: *memorandum*, -a, *datum*, -a, *stratum*, -a, *moratorium*, -a. There are many words that preserve the nominative singular form only, such as *momentum*, *album*, *aquarium*, *pabulum*, *rostrum*, *auditorium*, *gymnasium*, *premium*, *forum*, *odium*, *serum*, *asylum*, *medium*. The following nouns in English have the Latin third-declension singular and plural forms: *apex*, *apices*; *axis*, *axes*; *basis*, *bases*; *index*, *indices*; *appendix*, *appendices*; *vortex*, *vortices*; also numerous third-declension words remain unchanged in English, such as *victor*, *actor*, *orator*, *honor*, *arbor*. Neuter nouns of the third declension are represented in English by *omen*, *acumen*, *specimen*, *stamen*, *bitumen*, *opus*, *genus*, (plur.-era). The fourth declension may be illustrated in English by *impetus*, *status*, *census*, *prospectus*, and the fifth declension by *rabies*, *series*, *species*. There are in English many unchanged comparatives, such as *inferior*, *excelsior*, *junior*, *senior*. Adjectives

¹ See Mason D. Gray, "The Socialization of the Classics," *Classical Weekly*, X, No. 10; Emory B. Lease, "English Words in High School Latin," *ibid.*, No. 19.

in *-lis, -le*, may be illustrated by *simile, docile, fragile, facile*. Even a few verb forms are preserved in English, as *fiat, habitat, recipe, ignoramus, interest, memorandum, referendum, propaganda, memento, veto, exit*.

Since the largest number of Latin pupils are in the first- and second-year work, the chief aim during those years should be then to make the work of the utmost value for English.¹ Latin may also be used as a sound basis for the study of other languages and for the better understanding of all sorts of technical terms used in the other subjects taught in the school. Pupils especially interested in pharmacy, law, medicine, and the like may procure lists of terms commonly used in these professions. Such lists are obtainable, and the pupils can make therefrom their own special vocabularies as they meet these words in their regular class work. The work in beginning Latin may also furnish some training in aesthetics, if advantage is taken of the opportunity to have reports on topics suggested by many words in the vocabularies.

The work in Caesar should for the most part have the same aim as the work in beginning Latin, but it is possible to have the work make a greater contribution to the pupil's civic training by following carefully Caesar's doggedly persistent struggle in Gaul. Second-year Latin, however, as first-year Latin, should concern itself primarily with increasing the pupil's command of English.

The work in Cicero should make an important contribution to the pupil's civic training. For instance, if the Catilinarian orations are read, the civic conditions in one's own city may be compared with those at Rome. Every community has its civic problems, and the pupils should gain first-hand knowledge of them if he is later to take his share of civic responsibilities. To be sure, a study of community civics is required in most high schools, and in much of the work in history past and present-day conditions are compared, but every new angle of attack is valuable in training pupils for citizenship. It might even be well to have pupils compare conditions in the local jail with those of the Tullianum. They

¹ See *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools* (1917), p. 65.

might also compare the disaffected classes of Rome with the I.W.W., not in a superficial way, but with a genuine desire to understand the complaints of that body of men. If the Manilian Law is read, the pupils might compare our management of the Hawaiian Islands or Porto Rico with Rome's management of her provinces. We know too little of our own possessions, and can learn much by comparison. A study of Cicero's character may be used also to develop some appreciation of the type of leaders needed today in our democracy.

The work in Virgil should aim almost exclusively at developing the pupil's appreciation of the finer things of life. The teacher has before him almost the whole realm of literature from which to draw material, and has also an opportunity to present to the pupils many of the noblest ideals man has conceived.

In conclusion one might say that of the six newly recognized aims of education the study of Latin can make an important contribution to four, namely, to the pupil's vocational, civic, ethical, and aesthetic education. Can any other subjects in the curriculum, with the exception of English and history, make a better showing? If it is generally recognized that the aims of secondary education in our democracy should be to develop the powers and ideals of the individual in order that he may use his best attainments for the benefit of society as a whole, and if the subjects in our high-school curricula are tested in the light of these aims, surely the study of Latin can contribute an important part to their fulfilment.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CHARLEMAGNE AS INFLUENCED BY AUGUSTINE'S *CITY OF GOD*

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In Einhard's *Vita Caroli*, chapter xxiv, there is the following statement in regard to Charlemagne's dinner entertainments: "Inter cenandum aut aliquod acroama aut lectorem audiebat. Legebantur ei historiae et antiquorum res gestae. Delectabatur et libris sancti Augustini, praecipueque his qui *De Civitate Dei* praetitulati sunt." In the latest English edition of the *Vita Caroli* (Oxford: Garrod and Mowat, 1915) there is this note on the passage: "There is no reason to doubt that this book colored Charlemagne's whole conception of the empire, and that it was one of the deepest influences in his politico-religious thinking." James Bryce in his *Holy Roman Empire* in a footnote (p. 94) says, "Augustine's influence, great through all the Middle Ages, was greater on no one than on Charles [*delectabatur*, etc., Einhard, chap. xxiv]. One can imagine the impression which such a chapter as that on the true happiness of a Christian emperor [v. 24] would make upon a pious and susceptible mind. It is hardly too much to say that the Holy Roman Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De Civitate Dei*." In the life of Charlemagne by H. W. C. Davis a reference to this subject is elaborated as follows (p. 218):

He loved no book more than St. Augustine's *City of God*. Therein he read that conquests in themselves are evil and only to be justified if the condition of the conquered is improved; that the Roman Empire was more to be honored in her small beginnings, when her sons were few and virtuous, than later, when only her vast bulk and riches saved her from the fatal consequences of selfishness and luxury. There too he found and pondered on the description of the perfect Emperor who holds his power as something which God has given and will, in His good time, take away; who, not elated by flattery or the pride of pre-eminence, remembers that he is a mortal and looks forward to that other Empire in which he will find many equals; who uses all his power to the advancement of God's glory and worship; who thinks it a greater thing to

rule his own desires than to be master of many peoples. And from Alcuin, a man steeped like himself in Saint Augustine's teaching, he received more detailed exhortations of the same kind; that Empire is a responsibility; that while a king is charged with the care of one nation, an Emperor is the maker and maintainer of that social order wherein kingdoms are but as passing accidents. "Through your prosperity," wrote Alcuin, "Christendom is preserved, the Catholic faith defended, the law of justice made known to all men." Repeatedly the old scholar warned him, bearing this in mind, to turn away from distant wars, and to think rather of regenerating the Christian church and of making justice supreme within the lands already conquered.

Furthermore, Hodgkin in his *Charlemagne* (p. 140), says, "Throughout his kingly and imperial career Charles took the religious part of his duties seriously. It was not for nothing that he bore the title of Christianissimus Rex, not for nothing that Saint Augustine's famous treatise the *Civitas Dei* was the favorite companion of his leisure."

These statements regarding the influence of Augustine on Charlemagne are certainly positive enough and might lead one to infer that the matter was not a debatable one at all. It is to be noted, however, at the outset that they are inferences drawn from only one brief statement of the chief biographer of Charlemagne. If they are justified by all the facts, we should be gratified by the evidence of the influence of a great book on a great man; but if not we can only conclude that history is sometimes written more from inference than from fact.

We may admit without argument that Augustine was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the church fathers, that his writings were studied extensively by churchmen throughout the Middle Ages, and that some of his books are read with interest, possibly with profit, today, and, furthermore, that his authority on matters of doctrine and interpretation has been very great in the theological structure of the Roman Catholic church. But are we justified in concluding that one of his works greatly influenced the government of Charlemagne because that monarch was pleased with the readings from the book at his dinner entertainments? Convincing evidence one way or the other can hardly be expected now since the great Charles cannot answer for himself. But the book of Augustine is extant and the career of Charles is a matter of record.

Consequently we should be able to arrive at some fairly justifiable conclusions from a comparison of the two.

First then let us review briefly the *City of God* and the work of Augustine in general. The great bishop of Hippo during the course of his long and eventful life produced an astonishing amount of literary work, more than one hundred books being ascribed to him. He lived from 354 to 430 and died at his episcopal city while it was under siege by the Vandals. The capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 had not only distressed but greatly perplexed the civilized world. Augustine tries to reassure the faithful by the idea that the earthly city which had been the synonym for what was strong and enduring was to be superseded by the eternal city whose reign was in the hearts of men. The work is an early attempt at a philosophy of history, under the aspect of two rival cities or communities—the eternal city of God and the perishing city of the world. In Book i the author censures the pagans who attributed the calamities of the world, and especially the sack of Rome by the Goths, to the Christian religion and its prohibition of the worship of the gods. In Book ii the tumultuous history of Rome is reviewed and the failure of her numerous gods to help her in times of trouble. Augustine even goes out of his way to assail the careers of Romulus and other kings and consuls because of their murderous wars. In spite of Aesculapius there were many plagues, and in spite of protecting deities for every activity of life there were defeats and disasters many times. The subject is continued in a similar vein in Book iii, where he adds that if all these evils had happened after the coming of Christ the people would have blamed Christianity for them. In Book iv he concludes that the long duration of the Roman Empire was due not to any pagan gods, who were often notoriously immoral, but to the will of the true God, by whose power and judgment earthly kingdoms are founded and maintained. In this book occur some noteworthy passages, especially interesting if we are to suppose that Charlemagne ever read them, e.g., chapter vi (*sub fin.*) “*Inferre autem bella finitimis et in cetera inde procedere ac populos sibi non molestos sola regni cupiditate conterere et subdere, quid aliud quam grande latrocinium nominandum est?*” In Book v the question of fate is dealt with only to show that the

greatness of Rome was not due to fate. He refers to the virtues of the early Romans as explaining to some degree their success. We may here remark that these "natural virtues," as he calls them, of the early Romans were previously ascribed to the inspiration of demons. He also has an unhappy criticism of some of the finest models of old Rome, inasmuch as it is his aim to make all virtue theistic. He then explains what should be accounted the true happiness of the Christian emperors. It is this passage which Bryce refers to (also Davis) as probably influencing Charlemagne. Accordingly I will quote it here (*De Civitate Dei* v. 24; translation of Professor Dods):

For neither do we say that certain Christian emperors were happy because they ruled a long time, or, dying a peaceful death, left their sons to succeed them in the empire, or subdued the enemies of the republic, or were able both to guard against and to suppress the attempt of hostile citizens rising against them. These and other gifts or comforts of this sorrowful life even certain worshippers of demons have merited to receive, who do not belong to the Kingdom of God to which these belong; and this is to be traced to the mercy of God who would not have those who believe in Him desire such things as the highest good. But we say that they are happy if they rule justly; if they are not lifted up amid the praises of those who pay them sublime honors, and the obsequiousness of those who salute them with excessive humility, but remember that they are men; if they make their power the handmaid of His majesty by using it for the greatest possible extension of His worship; if they fear, love, worship God; if more than their own they love that kingdom in which they are not afraid to have partners; if they are slow to punish, ready to pardon; if they apply that punishment as necessary to government and defence of the republic, and not in order to gratify their own enmity, but with the hope that the transgressor may amend his ways; if they compensate with the lenity of mercy and the liberality of benevolence for whatever severity they may be compelled to decree; if their luxury is as much restrained as it might have been unrestrained; if they prefer to govern depraved desires rather than any nation whatever; and if they do all these things, not through ardent desire of empty glory, but through love of eternal felicity, not neglecting to offer to the true God, who is their God, for their sins, the sacrifices of humility, contrition, and prayer. Such Christian emperors, we say, are happy in the present time by hope, and are destined to be so in the enjoyment of the reality itself, when that which we wait for shall have arrived.

Books vi-x are directed against those who believe that the gods are to be worshiped for the sake of eternal life. He attacks

the monotheistic ideas of Varro and Plato, showing how these teachers were unable to spread truth and virtue among the masses, and so he introduces in a very earnest and beautiful passage the necessity of the Incarnation (vii. 31; x. 29). In some of these books there are some rather racy criticisms of heathen divinities, particularly those connected with marriage—passages which may have interested Charlemagne and his rather loose-mannered court even if they did not edify them. The second half of the work is constructive and theological. Six books (xi–xvi) are devoted to one of his innumerable efforts to get at the light which he was convinced was hidden in the Book of Genesis. With painful ingenuity he labors to elucidate or explain away the difficulties of the old story. In xiv. 13 occurs one of his characterizations of the *City of God*:

And therefore it is that *humility* is specially recommended to the City of God as it sojourns in this world, and is especially exhibited in the City of God and the person of Christ its king; while the contrary vice of pride, according to the testimony of the sacred writings, specially rules his adversary the devil. And certainly this is the great difference which distinguishes the two cities of which we speak, the one being the society of godly men, the other of the ungodly, each associated with the angels that adhere to their party, and the one guided and fashioned by love of self, the other by love of God.

Again in xiv. 28:

Accordingly the two cities have been formed by the two loves; the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the one seeks glory from men, but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of the conscience.

Some of the metaphorical explanations of the ark, tower of Babel, etc., are ridiculously far-fetched, while the absolute condemnation of all scientific theories which seem to contradict the Bible are perhaps an earnest of the blind bigotry of the Middle Ages. The history of the City of God is traced in Books xvi–xviii from the time of the kings to that of Christ, the author dealing extensively with prophecies sacred and profane in regard to the coming of the Messiah. Then follow the discussions of heathen philosophers and their ideas of the Supreme Good. In the remaining books such subjects as the last judgment, eternal punishment,

portents, miracles, the eternal happiness of the saints, faith in the resurrection and the activities of the saints in bliss are elaborated with more or less interesting detail, and the work closes with an almost ecstatic vision of the eternal felicity of the city of God and the perpetual Sabbath.

It seems rather generally agreed that the effect produced by this great work in its own time could not have been very great. But undoubtedly it became immensely popular in later times. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great variety of ideas, opinions, and facts that are brought before the reader's mind. But, as Professor Dods says, "the interest attaching to the *City of God* is not merely historical. It is the earnestness and ability with which he develops his own philosophical and theological views which gradually fascinate the reader and make him see why the world has set this among the few greatest books of all time." It became one of the chief sources of study and authority in the church, so that by the time of Charlemagne the theology of the ruling faith of the empire was largely interpreted as Augustine had enunciated it. But the question with us here is what influence could the work have had on the government, foreign policy, or private life of the greatest of mediæval monarchs. Charlemagne ruled from 768 to 814 A.D., a period nearly four hundred years after the publication of the *City of God*. The world had become Catholic and the church and its head had largely replaced in power and name the Roman Empire and the Caesar. Since the fall of the Western Empire no single ruler had united under his own sway all the scattered parts of what was Roman, but yet the permanency of the empire and the rule of an emperor remained as fixed notions in men's minds. It may be that when Charlemagne allowed himself in 800 to be crowned emperor and Augustus he had some rather indefinite notion of a new era inaugurated under himself when a City of God or an empire of the true faith should replace the old and discredited earthly empire. Bryce even suggests (p. 48) that the pope had some such notion when he crowned the emperor. "In Charles, the hero who united under one scepter so many races and whose religious spirit made him appear to rule all as the vicegerent of God, the pontiff might well see, as later ages saw, the new golden head of a second image,

erected on the ruins of that whose mingled iron and clay seemed crumbling to nothingness behind the impregnable bulwarks of Constantinople." But whatever conception Charles or the pope or any other of their time may have had of the new era, no thinking man even then could fail to see how different the order of things was from that of old Rome on the one hand and of the ideal state of Augustine on the other. It is probable that only in the later years of his life did Charlemagne conceive any ideal of a Christian state, if indeed he ever had such an ideal or ever consciously followed the precepts of Augustine. And the great work of his career, his conquests and organization of conquered peoples, belongs to his earlier years. We know that on the death of his father Pippin, Charles and his brother Carloman became joint heirs of the kingdom. There was trouble almost from the first, till the opportune death of Carloman in 771 left Charles sole monarch with no regard for the rights of Carloman's children. In his numerous wars of conquest he was perhaps rather more merciful and broad-minded than most of his predecessors. But there were instances of great cruelty and injustice, for it seemed to be his idea that resistance to his authority and persistence in paganism were things to be thoroughly stamped out. When he swept with his ravaging armies over the greater part of Germany he compelled the conquered kings and their peoples to accept Christian baptism as a sign and symbol of their submission. Sometimes very serious rebellions broke out, for, strange to say, these Saxons seemed to have an inextinguishable hatred of slavery and Christianity. It took eighteen expeditions and thirty-three years to conquer them. On the first campaign in 782 as many as 4,500 captives were put to death in cold blood on one day. In this year Widukind, the Saxon king, was at last conquered and was baptized, Charles acting as his godfather. In 785 a revolt was suppressed in the north, and on this occasion, as Einhard tells us, some of the captives were put to death, some deprived of sight, some exiled. In 804 he had recourse to the last injustice of conquerors, the transportation of the Saxons who dwelt beyond the Elbe to Frankland and the giving of their lands to pagans. In his zeal for the Christian faith he could tolerate no heathen within his realm, and so compelled subject kings and peoples to be baptized.

Such wholesale additions to the body of true believers, greater than at any Pentecost, could hardly add much spiritual strength to the church. Several of his adversaries, such as Desiderius of Lombardy, Tassilo of Bavaria, even several of his own relatives, including his son Pippin, disappeared permanently in monasteries, a convenient place for dangerous rivals and suitable for their own spiritual development. As a statesman Charles ranked high. He had the doubtful credit of introducing or at least of fostering feudalism, but beyond question he was a wise and firm administrator. In many of his enactments, particularly in his capitularies, the religious motive was clearly foremost. Even his great service to learning was fundamentally due to his desire to advance the true understanding of the Scriptures "*ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare.*" He was indeed broad-minded enough to see some merit in secular writings and made an effort to save some of the early literature of his race.

Of his private life we may say that in simplicity and useful activity there was much to admire. But judged by modern or even mediaeval standards there was much also to condemn. His first marriage, in 770, with the daughter of King Desiderius of Lombardy was soon dissolved, an action which probably led to enmity between the two kings. He contracted four other marriages and appeared to have loved all of his wives. But he also contracted several other "marriages of the second rank," as they are euphemistically called by his clerical admirers (Davis, p. 243). His court was not pure and his daughters turned out badly. He was known as a generous almsgiver and bestowed his benefactions on the needy at home and abroad, but chiefly on the church and the clergy.

Now in all the career of this great sovereign what act or policy is there which we can with assurance say was influenced by his study of theological literature? He was beyond doubt a zealous supporter of the church and a man of personal piety even if his actions were often those of a barbarian or libertine. But his religious proclivities were surely as much due to his inherited Catholicism and his naturally emotional nature as to any study of a book. In fact there is nothing in Augustine's work, dealing with counsel to a

ruler, certainly not in the chapter quoted by Bryce and others, which would not be found in the pages of Scripture itself. And furthermore there is nothing in all his administration of government at home or in the provinces which could be even remotely traced to the theocratic ideas of Augustine. We know, moreover, from Einhard's account and from other sources that as emperor and Augustus he had before his mind the career of Augustus Caesar, and if he followed any model it was more than likely the work of the first Roman emperor as described by Suetonius. The probabilities are that only a few portions of Augustine's work were ever read to Charles, and these would be such as might conduce to pious reflection or the entertainment of the hour, but not to the shaping of great policies of government.

Finally we may question the influence of any book, outside the Scriptures, on any great national policies. The personal life and the theological views of some great men have been influenced, according to their own confession, by the reading of great works, notably by those of Augustine himself, and to some extent, we may assume, their views have been carried into legislation. But statesmanship is rather the result of a long series of events and traditions and is seldom if ever founded on any model prescribed by philosopher or theologian. Augustine himself says that he was profoundly influenced by Cicero's work *Hortensius*. And in modern times, to take only one example, Gladstone says he owed much to Augustine. His words are, "I have been feeling my way; owing little to living teachers, but enormously to four dead ones (over and above the four gospels), i.e., Aristotle, Augustine, Dante, Butler—my four doctors are doctors to the speculative man; would they were such to the practical too!" (Morley's *Life*, I, 207). Gladstone probably read Augustine more intelligently than Charlemagne ever could, but no one would credit him with shaping his policies on any such authority.

In conclusion we may say that a more fitting comment on Einhard's statement in the *Vita Caroli* would be, "Charlemagne may have enjoyed the book of Augustine, but there is nothing in his life or government to indicate that he was much edified thereby."

VITALIZING MYTHOLOGY

BY GRACE P. SMITH
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While teaching mythology and striving to interest the student in this subject with new methods of approach, the writer became possessed of an idea which it is hoped may be found helpful to other teachers in the way of supplementing textbook material. If mythology is not a study of vital importance to the undergraduate, it certainly is an interesting one, while as a sidelight to history, art, and literature it deserves his attention on account of its cultural value. The plan proposed aims at providing the teacher with a real working medium, so that, apart from gaining a book knowledge of the subject, the student may find in the course something stimulating and of real practical value. The scheme may be elaborated according to the time given to the course and at the judgment of the teacher. For a general survey of Greek and Roman mythology one hour a week is fairly satisfactory. A course in comparative mythology would enrich the field but would demand more time.

Most of us have been brought up on Bulfinch's *Age of Fable*, Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*, and other collections of classic myths. We never outgrow the fairylike appeal of these stories. In childhood they amuse us, but to the mature student this mass of detail loses interest for itself alone. As he transfers his childish interest to the more scientific aspect of the subject, it soon acquires new meaning as the basis of an interesting study, full of the principles of life, clothing social and political relations, veiling scientific, religious, and philosophic thought, all set forth in that fascinating imagery through which the Greeks gave expression to their thoughts. A realization of this fact, namely, that every myth has some idea behind it comes as a surprise to most students, and a still greater one comes with the suggestion that there are still possibilities in adapting these myths, that mythology may be vitalized in such a way as to yield practical results.

The teacher of course duly appreciates the principal reasons for studying mythology. These may or may not be anticipated by the student, but it is likely that he faintly apprehends the relation of Greek mythology to history, art, and literature, as well as to the lives and minds of those who made it what it is. A thorough study of these relations will not be minimized by the teacher, since stress has been laid on these features by up-to-date texts. With the lantern and screen equipment the student will enjoy another advantage, that of becoming familiar with the gods and goddesses as portrayed by ancient and modern sculptors and artists. A lasting impression of pose and attribute is made by interspersing lecture and recitation with such illustrations.

No one denies the fact that the study of mythology quickens the artistic sense and judgment and increases the appreciation of art and literature. Both art and literature take on a deeper meaning when revealed through mythology. But the demands for today's studies are for practicality. Can we show that this study is not a purely negative one and meet the demand for practical results? Surely mythology can do its bit in equipping the student for his life-work. Even the reporter needs to know a little mythology now and then in order to liven up the daily locals and vary his own platitudes.

The vital things in mythology are the thoughts behind it. Until we come to a full realization of this we fail to appreciate mythology as an expression of the Greek mind; and not until we do reach this viewpoint will we be able to vitalize mythology and connect it with the forces of our own lives. One writer says: "Greek and Roman mythology are unfailing in their vitality; their mythology is plastic and capable of varying its quality, is susceptible of employment for various uses."

This suggested the idea which was tried out with fairly interesting and satisfactory results, and it is hoped that this scheme will prove sufficiently practical and valuable to become a permanent feature of classroom work with additions as the time will allow and experience may suggest. It was proposed to *vitalize* mythology in some such way: First, having selected a myth for study, assimilate all the details, look under the surface for its meaning, look at

it from every angle, consider the characters and their inherent qualities and attributes. Then, use the imagination. With all the details in the subconsciousness let the student try to connect what he has read with some phase of life or with some local tradition, and let him strive to recast the myth. This will seem an impossibility at first, but with a little thought and encouragement attempts will be made and carried out with interest. Many times the results will be crude from lack of imagination, inability of expression, or from ignorance of technique. Even so the trial will be worth while. Careful emphasis must continually be laid on the thoughts which are the vital element of the myth and on the necessity of appreciating the part which this vivifying quality must play in original expression and adaptation of material.

What subjects shall be selected for such constructive work? They may be varied as time permits. Something in literature or local traditions may suggest an idea for the student to follow up. Each myth will open up varied possibilities to one who is on the lookout. A few of the titles tried out in class may be mentioned: "A Trip to Hades," "The Thirteenth Labor of Heracles," "The Pioneer in Iowa." The themes were read and criticized in class. Action was supposed to be in harmony with the character represented; epithet and phrase were urged in accordance with classic usage. For instance, if Athena was introduced, she was not to be described as "black-eyed"; if Ares was mentioned, it was pointed out that due consideration must be shown for that quality of war which he represented, war cruel and barbarous in direct contrast to the wisdom and skill of Athena in war. The grasp of such basic ideas seems quite necessary for one who would make use of mythological material in a literary way.

The first subject familiarized the student with the geography of the lower world, the Greek conception of life after death, also with various deities and personages on both sides the Styx. The most popular subject was the second. Almost with one accord Heracles was figured as the benefactor of mankind in ridding Europe of despotism and plunging its rank offender into Tartarus. Athletically inclined students made this son of Zeus patron of football on the local gridiron. "The Pioneer in Iowa" was intended to

suggest a variant of the Demeter myth through local conditions and tradition, the parallel of social life dependent on agriculture. This myth is one of the most fruitful and stimulating, fresh with life, heavy with mystery, full of mother-love and yearning. In its many aspects it lends itself well to adaptation and repays thoughtful study.

One may vary the themes by proposing subjects for drawings and asking those who have talent in this line to bring in pencil or pen-and-ink sketches. A brief description of two sketches furnished by students in the course will serve to show how the material of the Demeter myth was treated to bring out the idea of the rise of agriculture in Iowa. In one medallion the figures are grouped on the right and their names printed on the margin—Persephone, Demeter, and Triptolemus—in order, from background to foreground. Triptolemus has his left hand on the plow; Demeter holds in her extended right hand ears of corn as she points to the west; Persephone shares in the joy of giving with a shower of spring flowers which she flings to the four winds. Opposite this group, on the left, are gently undulating prairies and teepees. On the margin near by is lettered "Iowa." The whole symbolizes the progress of civilization from east to west. Another drawing on the same subject shows Demeter as central figure, knee-deep in the corn fields. Her hands are extended, and the shocks of corn, the heaps of vegetables piled about her, the branches of fruit-laden trees swaying above her, all testify to her bounteous generosity. In the distant background can be seen the ever-present windmill and barn gable.

Examples might be multiplied, but enough has been said to outline the process for vitalizing mythology. No unique contributions to art or literature are expected from young students. If these suggestions pave the way for something original in the future, if the results prove that mythology is by no means a dead subject, and that it can be studied in a way to meet the crying demand for practicality, then the end is attained and the scheme becomes fixed as a "method."

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

ON CAESAR *B.G.* i. 9

The last three lines of the chapter run as follows: *obsidesque uti inter se dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et iniuria transeant.* All the school editions of Caesar, so far as I have seen, by supplying with *Sequani* the words *obsides dent* or *obsides dant*, or the English word "agreeing," require a translation somewhat as follows: "The Sequanians agreeing not to hinder the Helvetians, and the Helvetians to cross without doing harm. Now the notion of *agreeing* here is nothing more or less than that of *promising*, a notion which never takes an *ut, ne* clause. The subjunctive clauses here are clearly of that variety of purpose clauses that Bennett calls stipulative; but stipulating is not promising but rather demanding a promise on the part of another. It was the purpose or stipulation of the Helvetians that the Sequanians should not hinder them, and of the Sequanians that the Helvetians should cross without doing harm. This meaning is easily obtained from the text by cutting out the usual commas and making *Sequani* the subject of *prohibeant*, placed first for emphasis, and *Helvetii* the subject of *transeant*. In translating, supply after *perficit* the words "the stipulations being."

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General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

Continued evidence of the general interest felt in Greek and Latin is found in the part they play in the public programs of the high schools. The Ball High School, of Galveston, Texas, has a Modern Language Association which gives several public performances during the year. Both Greek and Latin were represented on the program for December 17, 1917, along with French, German, and Spanish. All Freshmen in the high school take Latin and may elect it for the three succeeding years. The course in modern languages extends over three years; and at present the school is planning the publication of a modern language journal. Greek is not taught in the school, but with the fostering of such a general interest in the languages we shall expect to hear soon that Greek has been placed at the disposal of those at least who may desire it.

In his essay on "The New Criticism of Roman Art," contributed to the volume of *Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects*, Professor G. H. Chase has summarized the just claims of the new school of critics who rebel against the treating of Roman art as a merely attenuated or decadent form of Greek art, and who maintain that it represents a distinct artistic epoch with notable contributions of its own. As usually happens in times of rebellion, these claims of the new school may have assumed an extreme form. The deep source of inspiration and the grandeur of the Greek originals back of numerous Roman imitations was pretty well worked out and emphasized by the great classical archaeologist Winckelmann. Most classical scholars are familiar with the main outlines of the career of the poor shoemaker's son, the struggles of his early youth, his devotion to classical learning, his walking of some eighty miles on one occasion to pick up a few classical books at the sale of the library of Fabricius, and his tragic death at the height of his career. Pater calls him the last fruit of the Renaissance, belonging in sympathy with the earlier humanists. Yet Bywater (*Memoir*, p. 79) denies Pater any real knowledge of art. In the January number of the *Monist* Professor W. W. Hyde, of the University of Pennsylvania, writes on "The Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Winckelmann."

Another method of stimulating interest in the classics is by the publication of school papers. Not only do we find a Greek paper such as that published by the Berkeley High School, which prints in beautiful form extracts from

standard Greek authors, but we also find Latin papers dealing in modern fashion with up-to-date school news. Such a publication is *Nuntius Latinus*, issued monthly by the students of the high school of Evansville, Indiana. In a recent issue will be found notes on such topics as the "Red Cross," "Liberty Loan," "Food Conservation," "Football," and "Jokes." In most cases no attempt is made to give these modern names for modern things a Latin form. They stand unchanged amid the Latin context. This has the obvious advantage of arresting the attention and pricking the curiosity of the uninitiated. On the other hand a great deal of ingenuity can be developed by the practice of forcing modern ideas into ancient speech. An electric car would seem to be hopelessly modern, yet when the *Phormio* was performed at Harvard in 1894, on their programs the spectators read: "Statim post spectaculum carri aderunt qui ui seminum fulmineorum spectatores in urbem uicinam abripiant." Was it the late Professor F. D. Allen (the composer, by the way, of the music for the Harvard performance of the Harvard *Phormio*) who used to insist that "rubber boots" alone refused to be expressed in Latin? When the *Agamemnon* was performed at Cambridge, Ἐπὶ Ἑλισίου ἀρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι ποώτῃ καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῇ καὶ ἑξακοσιοστῇ ἔτει πρώτῳ ἐν τῷ Σταδίῳ, the program was in Greek. Yet it was stated Ἡδέως ἰᾶσι τὴν Ἀγγλικὴν γλῶτταν οἱ θυρωροί. At the close of the program, however, it was deemed necessary to relapse into the vulgar tongue and inform the audience that, "In case of a shower the play may be stopped temporarily!"

Classical teachers have long maintained that in their struggle to uphold the ideals of cultural education they have been fighting an enemy that would in time assail also the higher purpose of modern-language teachers. I will not discuss the present widespread illiberal attitude toward the teaching of German, for this is easily explained even if wholly unjustified. It is to Spanish that I desire to call special attention. I presume that most classical students have some reading knowledge of Spanish and that all of them are sympathetic toward any attempt to spread and improve the teaching of it. Certainly all reasonable people will welcome every attempt to bring about a common understanding among the countries of the Western Continent. At the second Pan-American Scientific Congress, held in Washington, December, 1916, delegates were present from North, Central, and South America. There was much discussion as to the best means of bringing about closer relations among the Americas. Among the recommendations passed was the following: "That the teaching of the Spanish Language be made general in the schools of the United States, and of the English Language in Latin-American schools, and that both be taught from the point of view of American customs, history, literature, and social institutions." Later a report of this meeting was presented by Professor J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University, to both the American Association of University Professors and the Modern Language Association of

America. He has prepared a summary of his report for the January issue of the *Studies in Philology*, published by the University of North Carolina. In quoting the foregoing recommendation Professor Ford points out a lurking danger in the latter part of it, in what "seems to strike a new note." He urges that caution be used in interpreting that part of the recommendation. The vocational note there struck will not be "new" to the classical student, and this wholesome warning from a teacher of modern languages will be approved. Professor Ford maintains that the right teaching of Spanish cannot ignore the literature and art of Spain, and doubtless our leading teachers of English would deny that the right teaching of English can ignore the great masterpieces from beyond the sea. For mere purposes of trade this broad yet historical view may well be ignored, yet to set up a mere utilitarian and provincial aim for Spanish teaching in all our schools is a deplorable policy. The same is true concerning the teaching of English in the schools of Latin America. This recommendation for the teaching of Spanish, in the view of Professor Ford, conceals another danger. It may involve the teaching of some local pronunciation of the language. He therefore puts in a strong plea for the Castilian pronunciation in preference to some one of the widely divergent forms in use on this side.

Of the many recent works dealing with educational problems few can compare in comprehension and grasp of the real issue with *Higher Education and the War*, by Professor John Burnet of St. Andrews University. This book contains a thoroughgoing criticism of the German system of education. As the material was gathered and used before the outbreak of the war, the author cannot be charged with bias due to the present conflict. The first chapter deals with *Kultur*. Here Professor Burnet maintains that there is a real breach between the *Kultur* of modern Germany and the educational system inherited from the opening of the nineteenth century. The sources of recent educational controversies are not pedagogical but political. Wilhelm von Humboldt's idea of *Kultur* was about the same as our idea of civilization, whereas at the present day "to the German, *Kultur* is in the first place something national," while to other peoples "civilization is primarily something human." *Kultur* can be maintained only by the autocratic powers of the state. All grades of education "must be regulated in view of the national *Kultur*, and not with reference to any vague ideal of humanity." This nationalized *Kultur* comes to mean that which differentiates Germany from all other nations and as such is antagonistic to humanism which strives to gather and conserve noble ideals common to all peoples. I think we may see the embodiment of these different attitudes in the recent militant German professors on the one hand and in the humanist Erasmus on the other. The old Germany "stood for philosophy, learning, music, and simplicity of life," whereas a modern German educator can exclaim: "Heute erscheint es uns ein leidiger Ruhm, eine Nation

von Denkern und Dichtern gewesen zu sein." Thus a real breach has come between the old education, from which we have all profited so much, and the new education, from which unawares we have incurred great harm. The great advance in applied science in Germany has followed a long period of disinterested research. Of late the great discoveries have been made elsewhere, but in Germany they have been organized and applied to the needs of industry and commerce, and now, we must add, for war. The old education had as its basis a prolonged and rigorous training in the classics, but the modern spirit, speaking through the mouth of the Kaiser, exclaims: "Wir sollen nationale junge Deutsche erziehen und nicht junge Griechen und Römer." In a chapter on humanism there is brought before us this conflict between the new ideal and the old. The old ideal involved a prolonged general education not directed to any particular profession though preparing the way for all. The modern ideal involves the early assignment of one's place in the political machinery with immediate intensive training for this restricted place. Arguments have not been lacking against the old theory of transference of powers. As a result, in some quarters discredit has been brought upon the belief in such a thing as general training. If this doctrine be true, then we must concede that humanistic education must go. As to what extent improvement of one function alters others, Professor Thorndike says: "A change in one function alters any other only in so far as the two functions have, as factors, identical elements. The change in the second function is in amount that due to the change in the elements common to it and the first." Professor Burnet suggests that it is perhaps the "identical factors" in human knowledge that are the most important things about it, and these it should be the object of education to bring to consciousness. The danger confronting us in America is the tendency to close the door of general education too soon, by unduly forcing vocationalism upon the student. The perennial vulgar belief in the adequacy of translations will continue to thrive among those who are unable to follow Professor Burnet's sound psychological remarks as to the influence of language on thought.

On the other hand humanism is not confined to the classics. All disinterested scientific investigation is embraced by it. "The idea of disinterested scientific inquiry was perhaps the greatest gift of Hellas to mankind, and the Greeks were able to form this ideal just because they held that there is a human excellence which is other than and higher than the excellence of any particular craftsman or specialist." True science cannot thrive apart from humanism. To rest its claims upon merely utilitarian grounds would result in disaster. The great conflict now being fought on the battlefields of Europe is between *Kultur* and *humanitas*, the latter deriving its inspiration from *la civilisation gréco-latine*. Professor Burnet has dedicated his book to the memory of nine of his Greek students who have given their lives "pro patriâ et humanitate."

Book Reviews

The Greek Theater and Its Drama. By ROY C. FLICKINGER.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp.
xxviii+358. \$3.00 net.

Every true drama, ancient or modern, has been composed and designed for a performance by actors in a theater before an audience. Any study of the drama as pure poetry, or soul expression, without reference to the theater in which the play was given, the actors, and all other matters connected with what Aristotle calls "spectacle" and the "show business," is bound to be one-sided. Professor Flickinger's excellent book is therefore timely; classical teachers have been too prone to dwell upon the ethical and poetical side of the Greek drama to the exclusion of the theater. Although the book deals primarily with the technical and theatrical side of the drama, it would be unjust to assume that undue importance is attached to these matters as against other aspects of the drama. There is no question of relative importance. "Spectacle" is an integral part of a play; a true drama does not exist without it.

Professor Flickinger states in the Preface his aims as follows: "First, to elaborate the theory that the peculiarities and conventions of the Greek drama are largely explicable by its environment, in the broadest sense of that term. . . . Secondly, to emphasize the technical aspect of ancient drama. . . . Thirdly, to elucidate and freshen ancient practice by modern and mediaeval parallels." The book, exclusive of the Introduction (pp. 1-117), is divided into nine chapters: i, "The Influence of Religious Origin"; ii, "The Influence of Choral Origin"; iii, "The Influence of Actors"; iv, "The Influence of Festival Arrangements"; v, "The Influence of Physical Conditions"; vi, "The Influence of Physical Conditions (*Continued*): The Unities"; vii, "The Influence of National Customs and Ideas"; viii, "The Influence of Theatrical Machinery and Dramatic Conventions"; ix, "Theatrical Records."

The Introduction deals with the vexed problems of the origins of tragedy and comedy and with the "stage question." Tragedy and the satyric drama are offshoots of the same parent, the dithyramb. "The songs and dances from which tragedy and the satyr play developed were associated *at the period when they became truly dramatic*, with the worship of Dionysus, and *at the same period* Dionysus was as truly a 'God' (as distinguished from a 'hero') as any that the Greeks ever knew." Ultimate religious origins are not of vital importance for the understanding of the origin of tragedy.

Comedy originated with the leaders of phallic ceremonies, a prototype of which is found in Aristoph. *Achar.*, verses 237 ff. where Dicaeopolis on concluding a private peace with Sparta celebrates a festival of Dionysus on his country

estate. But Cornford's elaborated theory that the prototypes of all the parts of old comedy are to be found in the old fertility ritual, consisting of Agon, Sacrifice, Feast, Marriage Comus, does not, apparently, meet with favor.

The elevated stage for the Athenian drama is rejected; the evidence for concluding that actors and chorus performed together in the orchestra is overwhelming. But Professor Flickinger has given us in this part of his Introduction more than a mere discussion of the stage question; it constitutes the best treatise we have on the theater, though not so comprehensive in details as Dörpfeld's book. And yet it is complete enough for the ordinary reader and is up to date. The drawings are extremely well done, the illustrations from vases, etc., have been chosen with care and discrimination, and the photographs are extremely clear. The excellence of the illustrative material is but one indication of the untiring painstaking and energy that characterize the book.

The limitation of dramatic performances to certain periods is due to religious origin; performances at Athens were given in honor of Dionysus only at his festivals, the City Dionysia and Lenaea. The satyr play too is regarded as a concession to the religious origin, and the absence of murder on the Athenian stage is attributed to the fact that the actors were regarded as ministers of the god, and as a consequence their lives were sacred and inviolable.

In his chapter on "The Influence of Actors," Professor Flickinger explains the three-actor rule as being due to the paucity of actors and to the difficulty of mastering the dramatic technique of the dialogue. But that this has any connection with the lack of actors at any period of Athenian drama is mere assumption. We have every reason for thinking that there was an abundance of material for minor rôles. In the first place the mimetic instinct is very strong in most human beings, and it was especially strong in the Greeks. Then the drama was lyric in origin, and every choreutes was an actor. Finally it should be remembered that in the early stages of an art standards are not very high. If the acting was crude, so was the taste of the audience.

Obviously this review is not the place to argue the question. But I should like to make a categorical statement which I shall endeavor to make good in a future paper: All the passages in which Professor Flickinger finds evidence for the limitation of the actors can be explained on other equally plausible grounds. There was some justification for Hermann, Paley, and others who had been brought up on an old tradition supported by *external* evidence (now discarded) in seeking to detect indications of the tradition in the plays. The tradition, once accepted, gives us a perfectly mechanical device, and one easy of application, for motivating the entrance and exits of characters and for dating the plays. If a play can by hook or crook be produced by two actors, it is pushed forward to the earlier or two-actor period. The *Prometheus* offers a good example of the extremes to which an assumed law can lead scholars. By assuming a lay figure for Prometheus and a quick shift of costume in the first scene two actors could produce the play. The details of the nailing are used as proof for the lay figure. As a matter of fact the detailed description of the

nailing may indicate just the opposite and has served as a blind. And, further, in the subsequent play of the trilogy, the part of Prometheus could not have been represented by a lay figure. Finally, in other respects the *Prometheus* has the earmarks of one of the later plays, as, for example, in the proportion of dialogue to lyrical parts. But the possibility of two actors doing the job outweighs all other considerations!

Before passing on, it is proper to mention at least one example that involves some of Professor Flickinger's principles of technique. In the *Phoenissae* Euripides is thought to have had an actor of great lyrical attainments and so construed his play that this actor could play the rôles of both Jocasta and Antigone (the parts are well adapted to such a performer, principle 8). Immediately after the exit of Jocasta at verse 87, the old servant mounts the roof but tells Antigone to remain upon the stairs:

That I may scan the highway first,
Lest on the path some citizen appear,
And scandal light—for me, the thrall, 'twere naught—
On thee, the Princess.

The old servant is thought to be merely talking for time. Thus the appearance of Antigone is delayed for fifteen verses so that the actor who took Jocasta's part might have time to change dress and reappear in the rôle of Antigone. In other words, the old servant had to find some excuse for Antigone's delay in appearing because the poet had only one actor capable of rendering lyrical parts. But let us examine this case more closely.

In the first place, the pedagogue's reason for the delay in Antigone's appearance is a perfectly natural one and in line with Greek custom two instances of which from Euripides are cited by Professor Flickinger in his chapter on "The Influence of National Customs and Ideas" (p. 281). Hermione (*Andromache*, vss. 877 ff.) is bidden to leave the scene with these words:

Nay, pass within; make not thyself a show
Before this house, lest thou shouldst get thee shame
Before this palace seen of men, my child.

Compare also *Electra* (vss. 341 ff.). In neither of these instances can a technical motive be found such as Professor Flickinger imagines he discovers in the *Phoenissae*. Secondly, the statement that "Euripides must have had a leading actor of great musical attainments" is based on an unwarranted assumption that the poet knew his actor before he wrote the play; it is very likely that the actors were allotted after the plays had been accepted by the Archon. Thirdly, the technical motive in this case implies further that there was a dearth of actors for lyrical parts. In other plays Euripides does not seem to feel cramped in this respect. For example, in the *Hippolytus* most of the rôles are lyrical. The Nurse and Phaedra, who are simultaneously on the scene and must be played by different actors, indulge in lengthy lyrics.

Fourthly, this strongly felt motive compels us to divide the part of Antigone between two actors: Jocasta and Antigone appear together later in the play. It should be remembered that the three-actor rule is not concerned here; three actors would allow us a separate actor for these parts. Incidentally Professor Flickinger thinks that the fifteen verses which Euripides allows for the actor to change from the part of Jocasta to that of Antigone gives us a hint as to the length of time normally required for such a change. It is interesting that this is the only normal case in tragedy!

The statement (p. 183), "And since the tragedies of this period were presented by three actors, this number became crystallized, and so was never thereafter, *so far as the state was concerned*,¹ exceeded in tragedy," seems to imply that the state assigned the secondary actors. The state was concerned only with the protagonists, as is correctly stated on page 184.

Professor Flickinger's theory that the aesthetic law of the three-actor scene became fixed in the *technitae* period seems curious. Aristotle had observed in the *Poetics* that three actors make the perfect or well-rounded scene (cf. *πληθος*). Of course Aristotle was not a codifier; he simply observed the facts. It may be that Roman and Alexandrian scholars came to look on the unbroken custom of Greek tragedians as being based upon a rigid law. But the *technitae* had nothing to do with the facts of Greek tragedy which these scholars studied.

Much is made of the fact that the Greek poets experienced great difficulty in keeping three actors upon a scene busy. This point was fully developed in my thesis, the main point of which was not to set up an aesthetic law but to show that the three-actor scene was not the same as the three-actor play. But it is a fact that the fourth character in Greek tragedy never speaks, and the silence is sometimes unnatural. But it is ridiculous to say that the aesthetic law breaks down because sometimes even the third person does not speak. The point is not that the third must speak, but that the fourth must not!

This strange silence of the fourth person can best be accounted for on aesthetic grounds. It is not enough to say that the silence of Ismene in certain scenes in *Oedipus Coloneus* is due to the fact that the part is being taken by a mute. A mute is not a dummy and can speak if the poet chooses. Pylades in *Coeophori* is classed as a mute, but he spoke very effectively four lines.

Professor Flickinger's book is a veritable storehouse of information. "Influence" has been applied to the poets from every conceivable angle. In the chapter on "The Influence of Festival Arrangements" we are told everything that is known about the character of the two festivals, the City Dionysia and Lenaea, their programs with order of events; how the use of masks, previous knowledge of plots, the proagon, and the prologue rendered billboards unnecessary; how the juxtaposition of comedy and tragedy at some festivals strengthened the tendency which comic poets would naturally have to parody

¹ *Italics are mine.*

the lines of tragic poets and to burlesque their stage devices; how, though given on the same day at the same festival, there was no intermingling; a tragic poet never wrote a comedy, nor a comic poet a tragedy, neither did the same actor play both comic and tragic parts; the appointment of the judges; the open appeal of the comic poets for victory; the attempt of Euripides in the *Medea* to win favor of the judges by dragging in the Aegeus episode.

The huge size of the theater, together with the absence of opera glasses, made the employment of masks less objectionable (cf. chap. v), because only a limited number near the orchestra could have seen the facial expression of the actor anyway. To the magnitude of the ancient theater is to be attributed also the lack of a roof; in the absence of modern architectural devices "it was impossible to roof over such a structure without a multitude of supports to obstruct the view and hearing." In his early plays, before the stereotyped palace or temple front became established, Aeschylus had difficulty in motivating the exits and entrances of his characters. Because of lack of a convenient place of retreat he frequently leaves his characters silent upon the scene. The location of the theater at Athens gave rise to a tradition in the new comedy that persons coming from the city or harbor should enter from the spectator's right, those from the country from the left.

The Greeks had no way of representing interior scenes. Certain scenes, according to our author, which in ordinary life would appropriately take place indoors may be enacted in the porticoes of palaces or temples. But we should not be surprised to find Strepsiades, Pheidippides, and the servants sleeping on the porch in the open, "though we have no reason to believe that they are actual or prospective victims of tuberculosis." The reviewer does not pretend to be an authority on the use of the sleeping-porch in Greek life, but would like to hazard the opinion that in the *Clouds* Aristophanes employs the portico to represent an interior bedroom. But having discarded the notion that the Greeks had any way of representing an interior scene, Professor Flickinger finds as substitutes, besides the portico, the speeches of the messengers, the eccyclema, and the cries of the victims behind the scenes. There is no conclusive evidence for constant and regular use of a drop curtain.

In chapter vii we learn that the competitive spirit of the Greeks found its way into the drama also. The poets, the actors, and the choregi each had their own contests. The state paid for the dramatic performances under the system of liturgies. Also the lot was used in selecting the judges and in assigning the actors.

The eccyclema is thought to be of two different models. First, there was the revolving platform which displays an inner scene by reversing the sides of the proscenium. This type was used in the *Eumenides*. The other model was a platform on wheels which could be rolled out through the middle door. The mere throwing open of the palace door to reveal the murdered person would not be sufficient because the spectators in the wings could not see. Professor Flickinger doubtless gets from the Chicago theaters the idea that

every seat in the ancient theater should command a view of all the stage business! The rest of the chapter is taken up with a discussion of the prologue, tragic irony, and soliloquies.

The reviewer feels that he has given a very inadequate account of this monumental book. Many of the excellent qualities cannot, obviously, receive the mention that they deserve. The many excellent illustrations and photographs have been referred to. Among other praiseworthy features is the appropriate quotation at the beginning of each chapter. Then too the inclusion of the complete bibliography in one footnote at the beginning of each chapter instead of scattering references in footnotes at the bottom of each page not only improves the appearance of the page but does away with constant distraction that one suffers from the presence of the ever-present reference.

Professor Flickinger has a thorough grasp of his material. Sound scholarship and keen judgment permeate the whole book. The style is clear and direct. The book is a large and unique contribution to the study of the Greek drama and theater and will add distinction to American scholarship.

KELLEY REES

REED COLLEGE

Course of Study in Latin and Latin-English, Junior-Senior High School. By FLORENCE E. HALE and HARRY P. STUDY. Neodesha, Kan.: Privately printed, 1918.

The coming of the junior high school within the last few years has given new impetus to the movement started some twenty years ago to begin instruction in Latin in the grades below the high school. The desirability of such an extension downward has long been recognized as far as pedagogical arguments are concerned, but administrative difficulties were in many school systems too great to be overcome. A committee appointed by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South four years ago found that some opportunities for the study of Latin in the grades had been provided up to that time in the public schools of about twenty-five of the larger cities of the United States, as well as in a considerably larger number of private schools. The experiment was found to have been most successful in those schools in which Latin had been offered as a substitute for formal English grammar, or where instruction in Latin and English had been closely correlated.

The problem of securing suitable textbooks or of working out a properly balanced course of study still remains a serious one for most teachers, though some fairly successful attempts have been made. The ordinary high-school Latin books for beginners have not proved satisfactory, and the few Latin books which have been prepared especially for seventh and eighth grades have stressed the Latin to the neglect of the English. The closest co-operation of the English and Latin departments is required for working out and putting

into successful operation a course combining the essential elements of English and Latin. Such co-operation evidently exists in the Neodesha schools. The publication of a very suggestive and helpful course of study in Latin-English is one result. The subject-matter of the three years of the junior high school includes the four topics: literature, grammar, linguistics (including spelling), and composition. The Latin grammar covered in the three years includes the topics usually given in the first year's work in high school. However, considerably more reading of easy Latin is provided for than is possible in the usual one-year course, and the pupil thus comes to the reading of Caesar much better prepared than one who begins his Latin in the high school. Meantime the pupil's ability to interpret English and to express himself in oral and written English has been greatly increased by his study of Latin, even if he never goes into the senior high school.

A detailed statement of the work covered in each of the four topics is given for the first two years, together with suggestions concerning methods of instruction, devices, reference books, reading-lists, etc. These will be found very helpful to the many teachers of Latin whose acquaintance with the teaching of seventh- and eighth-grade English is very slight.

A three-page introduction gives a very concise and convincing statement of the values claimed for the study of Latin.

W. L. CARR

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The New Testament Manuscripts. (In the Freer Collection.)
Part II, *The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul.*
By HENRY A. SANDERS. New York: Macmillan, 1918.
Pp. 251-315.

The text of the sixth-century manuscript of the Epistles of Paul, purchased by Mr. Charles L. Freer in Cairo in 1906, is now published in full with an introduction and a few excellent plates. While the manuscript is extremely fragmentary it presents an important ancient witness to the text. It is interesting to observe that the text is mainly of Westcott and Horts-Neutral type. The work is handsomely printed and the text of the manuscript is made convenient for study.

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

- ALLEN, J. T. *The Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifth-Century Theater at Athens.* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 55-58.) Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. Paper, \$0.05.
- BENNETT, C. E. *New Latin Grammar.* Third edition. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. xvi+287. \$1.00.
- BYRNE, LEE, editor. *The Syntax of High-School Latin.* A co-operative study by fifty collaborators. Revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. x+60. \$0.75 net.
- DEMPSEY, REV. T. *The Delphic Oracle.* Its early history, influence, and fall; with a prefatory note by R. S. Conway. New York: Longmans. Pp. xxiii+199. \$2.00 net.
- HERFORD, C. H. *The Poetry of Lucretius.* A lecture. New York: Longmans. Pp. 26. \$0.40 net.
- JEBB, R. C., and HEADLAM, W. G. *The Fragments of Sophocles.* Edited with additional notes from the papers of R. C. Jebb and W. G. Headlam. 3 vols. New York: Putnam. \$13.50 net.
- KAEGI, A. *Advanced Lessons in Greek.* Fifth edition. St. Louis: Herder. 8vo, pp. iv+114. \$0.70 net.

Corrigenda in W. A. Heidel's review of Stratton's *Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle*, published in the October *Classical Journal*:

By an unfortunate accident Professor Heidel's review was published without the corrections which he had indicated in his revised proof. The *Journal*, with sincere apologies to Professor Heidel, indicates the following corrections:

Page 76, line 14, read ἀλλοίωσις

line 44, read δόξειεν

Page 77, line 1, read ἔχειν ἐπὶ πάντων

line 5, read rain ceases; for a fog "burns off."

line 13, read ἰκμάς

line 15, read *De Syria*

line 19, read *Theophrastus*

line 21, read

ὥς γὰρ ἐκάστοτ' ἔχει κρᾶσιν μελέων πολυπλάγκτων